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12 July 1982

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

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RESOLUTIONS OF MEETING OF FAT OFFICERS

Ndjamena INFO TCHAD in French 13 Apr 82 pp 4, 5, 6

[Article: "FAT Officers Call for Joint Administration in Southern Zone"]

[Text] The officers of the Chadian Armed Forces (FAT) who met from 31 March to 3 April published a final document which contains resolutions which would throw Chad's political situation into confusion if they were applied. We are publishing these resolutions in their entirety.

--Whereas the Chadian Armed Forces have become a trend on the same grounds as those of the FROLINAT;

--Whereas the Kano I agreements called for the demilitarization of Ndjamena by the armed forces confronting each other;

--Whereas the Chadian Armed Forces have withdrawn to the south of the country;

--Whereas the situation in the east of the country calls for energetically taking the men into hand;

--Whereas GUNT [Transitional National Union Government] is experiencing serious difficulties in supporting the Integrated Armed Forces in general and the Chadian Armed Forces in particular;

--Whereas the Permanent Committee, the deliberative and administrative organ, is practicing mismanagement of the state's public finances;

--Whereas for 2 years this organ has become unpopular and has, moreover, no representatives;

--Whereas the incumbent administration is within the Permanent Committee's jurisdiction;

--In view of the necessity of creating a new organization to administer the zone;

--In the belief that under present conditions a strictly civilian territorial administration cannot realistically be interested in military problems;

--Whereas the representatives of the Chadian Armed Forces in the government no longer see anything but the interests of their newly created political party;

--With concern for the urgent necessity of reorganizing the command of the Chadian Armed Forces by establishing a dynamic and competent staff;

--Conscious of the real difficulties which the Chadian Armed Forces are encountering both in terms of equipment and morale,

We, commissioned and noncommissioned officers and enlisted men convened in a general assembly from 31 March to 3 April 1982 in Ndjamena, are agreed to the following:

In the Military Field

Reorganization of the command of the Chadian Armed Forces. We have resolved to put the present chief of staff of the Chadian Armed Forces temporarily back at the head of the Chadian Armed Forces until the forces are completely integrated into the Integrated National Army.

In order to do so, we recommend to the chief of staff of the Chadian Armed Forces the immediate establishment of a complete, dynamic and competent staff, based on objective and rational criteria.

We maintain the military regions in their present organization, but the command must assure their mobility and their permanent availability. We opt for the creation of new combat and reserve units. We insist on the program for creating the command of the national state police force. And meanwhile we ask the chief of staff of the Chadian Armed Forces to re-establish the squadrons and units of the state police force within the framework of the Chadian Armed Forces. We maintain our commitment in the present fighting to the struggle against rebellion.

In the Politico-Administrative Field

We are formally resolved to prohibit the Permanent Committee and the other political organizations of the region from using public funds. We ask GUNT to establish a joint territorial administration composed of military and civilians at the level of prefectures, subprefectures and administrative posts.

We are resolved to create a joint organization for controlling the administration and management of the south. For this purpose, we are resolved to create a military commission charged with studying with the civilian and military authorities the practical methods for applying points II and III. We demand our representation in the Transitional National Union Government by another military apart from the vice president and state secretary for defense.

FROLINAT COMMUNIQUE ATTACKS KAMOUQUE, PERMANENT COMMITTEE

Ndjamena INFO TCHAD in French 13 Apr 82 pp 3, 4

[Article: "Demarcation Between Patriots and Lackeys of Imperialism Is Taking Shape, FROLINAT Claims"]

[Text] The Permanent Committee's memorandum file is far from being closed again. The big row which has been going on for close to a month between advocates and adversaries of this document, has undergone a new development with FROLINAT's reaction. FROLINAT is taking a militant look at what it considers "treason against the Chadian people and against the martyrs of the struggle for peace in Chad."

This severe indictment which openly attacks the GUNT [Transitional National Union Government] vice president, Colonel Kamougue, emphasizes that Chad's political situation is becoming clear. The events of 12 February 1979, FROLINAT emphasized in this press release, "eclipsed the objective facts of our country's problem" and relegated "our people's patriotic and revolutionary aspirations" to a subordinate position "in favor of deceptive and impassioned watchwords." But "a demarcation is being drawn between patriots and lackeys of imperialism, between those who are using the tribal bugaboo to satisfy their passions and those who are fighting against the use of natural differences among us for southern political purposes."

Alluding to the resolutions of the recent Nairobi summit the authors of which, according to FROLINAT's document, were manipulated by the monied powers who arm the FAN [Northern Armed Forces], FROLINAT denounces internal complicity which is revealed by "timidity in adopting a definite position." This is the framework in which the Permanent Committee's memorandum should be placed. This memorandum, FROLINAT feels, contributes nothing new, because all the propositions of this document (sound administration, organization of free elections) have been "an attainment of the Chadian people since Lagos." The real problem is thus "to create the conditions for applying these conditions of principles and "the first of these conditions is assuring peace and the state's authority over the entire national territory." Analyzing the Permanent Committee's resolutions, FROLINAT claims that this "document comes at the right time to sow confusion." because "despite the last minute evasions, it is a question of a political settlement and a cease-fire with the FAN. For FROLINAT the adoption of this position is the proof that the Permanent

Committee and its head are working to sabotage GUNT's authority. The FROLINAT particularly points out the south's imperviousness to GUNT's decisions.

In conclusion, FROLINAT asks GUNT to assume its responsibilities in order to cut short dilatory maneuvers and to see to the application of its decisions. He also asks that, if necessary, it revise the channels for distributing equipment and resources in order to permit all forces to participate fully in the war against the nation's enemy.

9380

CSO: 4719/874

INSTALLATION OF NEW CENTRAL BANK DIRECTOR

Ndjamena INFO TCHAD in French 14 Apr 82 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Installation of New National Director of Central bank"]

[Excerpts] Outman Idriss, new national director of the Bank of Central African States in Chad, was officially installed in office Tuesday. A ceremony was held on this occasion in the garden of his residence. Two speeches were made by the BEAC governor, Kasimir Oye Mba and Gangbet Kosnay, the minister of Economy and Finance.

The installation of a young national executive at the head of such a large enterprise as the Central Bank is a double satisfaction, the BEAC governor was to have declared. "A satisfaction especially since it brings a long vacancy in management to an end." "We all want to see the sign of hope, rebirth and renewal, at the end of these dismal times which we hope have definitively ended for Chad."

For the BEAC head, "this ceremony also has another content, that of solidarity between our countries in their common monetary area." The fact that BEAC of Chad has continued to issue "after the distressing outbreaks is an eloquent illustration of the reality of monetary cooperation." Oye Mba stated that BEAC of Chad has still not reached cruising speed, quite simply because its usual partners (enterprises and banks) are still in a period of reorganization, with all the material difficulties which that involves.

The BEAC governor reviewed the role that a central bank can play in a country's development through the "vision, open-mindedness, conscientiousness, strictness, and firmness of its leader." Addressing the new director in turn on behalf of the National Transition Union government, the minister of economy and finance disclosed that this ceremony is as important as the opening of our issuing bank in June 1981 after the painful events of March 1980. Outman carries our hope, the hope of a Chad ravaged and devastated by an unequalled civil war, Gangbet added. The task entrusted to him is both exciting and difficult, especially during a crucial period of our country's history. Avoid "satisfying such and such a friend, such and such a family, such and such a tribe" was the chief advice given by the minister of economy and finance to the new head of our country's Central Bank.

9380

CSO: 4719/874

CHAD

BRIEFS

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS--Two decrees signed 10 April by President Goukouni name different officers to important posts of military responsibility. The one which will attract the most attention is undoubtedly the staff of the State Police Force which will be commanded by Major Ngarbaroum Demtita. He is being assisted by Siddick Faddoul and Annour Aboud, respectively the first and second deputy chiefs of the National State Police Force. Major Galiam Negal has been named director of military cooperation by a second decree. Two deputies will assist him in his work, Kedallah Younous and Abakar Assidick Absilekat. The same decree names Colonel Kotiga Guerina to the head of the directorate of research and development in the Ministry of Defense. He will have the service of two deputies, Kassoure Guelbeye and Djoubal Zalba. [Text] [Ndjamena INFO TCHAD in French 14 Apr 82 p 1] 9380

CSO: 4719/874

BASES ESTABLISHED FOR SENEGAMBIAN TEACHERS' CONFEDERATION

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 24 May 82 p 3

[Article by Souleymane Gueye, permanent APS [Senegalese Press Agency] correspondent: "SNEEL-GTU, Toward a Teachers Confederation"]

[Excerpts] Banjul--A new stake has just been set in the process for the reunification of Senegal and Gambia. The GTU [Gambian Teachers Union] and SNEEL [National Elementary Education Union] have indeed laid the foundations for what could in the long run be translated into the establishment of a confederation of teachers of Senegambia.

On the occasion of the visit of a SNEEL delegation, headed by Mr Ismaila Diagne, secretary general, and after 2 days of meetings, the GTU and SNEEL set up a broad exchange program.

The communique published at the end of the work notes that for the purpose of developing Senegambian youth strongly rooted in sociocultural values, both the GTU and SNEEL hope for the establishment of closer cooperation and the establishment of cultural exchanges between the two unions in various disciplines (languages, social sciences, Arabic, practical education, etc.) The GTU and SNEEL are also considering consolidation of their cooperation for the purpose of strengthening their relations in international organizations, such as the World Teaching Profession Federation and the Pan-African Teaching Profession Organization.

The two union organizations have, moreover, expressed the hope for their being represented at all meetings of the permanent Senegalese-Gambian secretariat on education, culture and training.

They have, moreover, recommended the twinning of schools of the two countries, cooperation in the field of sports and exchange of experiences for the development of the teacher union organizations and the integration of exchange programs for teaching personnel.

Finally, it was agreed to set up a 12-man committee (six from each organization) to be responsible for implementing this program.

The latter remains to be submitted to the organization representatives. The next meeting between the two unions scheduled for Dakar in June should give

its definitive approval, something that will doubtlessly pose no major problem for several reasons.

It is indeed a question of firstly institutionalizing longstanding relations because there have always been, even from the 1950's, exchanges between Gambian and Senegalese teachers.

Secondly, the SNEEL and GTU initiative goes in the direction advocated by the two chiefs of state, namely to strengthen cooperation between Senegal and Gambia in all fields of endeavor, and consequently, confederation is consecration.

The two organizations can even now count on the support of Dr Dawda Jawara, Gambian chief of state.

Dr Dawda Jawara reaffirmed to the Senegalese delegation, that presented him "the SNEEL medal of honor," the essential role of teachers in the building of the confederation. Dr Jawara stressed, "I have received many medals but I attach special significance to this one because it comes from teachers."

Mr Ismaila Diagne, speaking for all his Gambian and Senegalese colleagues, assured Dr Jawara of the commitment of all teachers in the task of building Senegambia. In this way, both SNEEL and GTU teachers commit themselves to provide their contribution to the building of African unity as Mr Mbaye Mbengue, our ambassador to Banjul, had called on them to do so at the opening of their meeting.

Mr Mbaye Mbengue stated, "Teacher labor organizations are a focus of attention for African unity because knowledge is an effective weapon against prejudice, and history, geography, science and all forms of art can be utilized to remind both children and adults that progress is not the prerogative of one single people."

Mr Mbaye Mbengue wanted in this way to make the teachers realize the fight they have to wage against a certain number of myths, including overpraised nationalism that causes hatred of all countries except your own.

Therefore, it is up to the teachers "to convince their peoples that their nationalism must not prevent better understanding, better sub-regional cooperation and that their governments must encourage state groupings without destroying national identities."

5671

CSO: 4719/1040

MMM FOREIGN RELATIONS DESCRIBED AS OUTRAGEOUS

Port Louis THE NATION in French 9 May 82 p 1

[Text] The security services of Mauritius have specific information regarding the foreign relations of the MMM [Mauritian Militant Movement] and how that party's electoral campaign is being bankrolled. According to information gathered in Mauritius and abroad, the MMM has mentioned on past occasions the possibility of using force to overturn the democratic institutions of the country. Also, some circles in Mauritius are worried by the instructions issued to MMM supporters telling them to go to the polls very early on 11 June. And on Friday, Yousouf Mohamed said that the opposition intended to make the dead and those who are out of the country cast their votes.

There is every indication that the allegations made by the Labor Party [LP] concerning the MMM's relations with some foreign countries are not based on unfounded guesswork. A recent investigation conducted by politicians, some of whom have close connections with the MMM/PSM [Malagasy Socialist Party] Alliance reveals the following facts:

- 1) An MMM activist is a KGB (the Soviet Union's intelligence service) agent and another one has close ties with a foreign embassy.
- 2) The MMM is bankrolled through a center located in the Indian Ocean region under the watchful eye of a Cuban who is established in the Seychelles.
- 3) In 1977, after the coup d'etat carried out by France Albert Rene in the Seychelles, a Ugandan terrorist and his North Vietnamese wife came to Mauritius on a mission but had to leave the country prematurely when they were discovered by the Security Police.
- 4) A member of the MMM met with a terrorist who had been trained in Mozambique.
- 5) In 1980, a member of the MMM met, in Paris, with Moroccan terrorists, with a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and with leaders of the French terrorist group Action Directe.

6) While in Europe, a member of the MMM went to Iraq, where he met with the PLO leader, Yasser Arafat.

7) A foreign firm operating in the free zone acts as the channel through which foreign powers are bankrolling the MMM.

In view of the dubious activities carried out by the MMM since its creation in 1969, and in view of its close links with some Marxist countries of the Indian Ocean region, the government must adopt all the necessary measures to protect democracy and to guarantee free elections in Mauritius.

8796

CSO: 4719/1001

BRIEFS

MMM PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES--If the MMM [Mauritian Militant Movement] wins the elections, the prime minister will be elected by the Central Committee of the party and Jugnauth is not likely to get the designation. In Vacoas, yesterday, Sir Ramesh Jeewoolall and Kailash Purryag quoted some provisions of the Constitution drafted by the MMM which stipulate that the prime minister must be chosen by the Central Committee. Now in every election organized by the Central Committee to this date, Paul Berenger has always emerged in first place followed by Kader Bhayat; Jugnauth usually came in 5th place. Labor Party speakers claim that Berenger can bend the Central Committee to his will and that, therefore, he will be automatically selected for the office of prime minister if an election takes place. In a different context, Mr I. Seetaram said that posters with a picture of Jugnauth were printed at a cost of 25 rupees per poster. The seven houses, camping ground and two schools owned by Jugnauth also gave rise to comment in Vacoas. [Text] [Port Louis THE NATION in French 10 May 82 p 1] 8796

CSO: 4719/1001

PRESIDENT MACHEL MEETS WITH FORMER WAR CRIMINALS

Maputo DOMINGO in Portuguese 16 May 82 p 3

[Excerpts] President Samora Machel met last Monday and Tuesday with some 1,000 persons formerly connected with the colonial-fascist Portuguese regime. The meeting took place in the assembly hall of the Josina Machel secondary school. Also present at the ceremony were leading members of the FRELIMO Party and Government.

Because of state programs that could not be postponed, this meeting was interrupted on Tuesday and will continue in a few weeks.

However, these two days, during which the leader of the Mozambican Revolution heard various criminals, already showed the dimensions of the alienating and repressive process of the large machine set up by colonialism.

Present at the meeting were former members of the PIDE [Police for the Control of Foreigners and Defense of the State], DGS [Directorate General for Security], ANP [Popular National Action], GE [Special Group], GEP [Special Paratroop Group], commandos, Fleshas and members of the small puppet groups that appeared after the coup d'etat in Portugal, as well as other war criminals.

The life story of some of them still strongly marked by alienation, and of others already aware of the committed treason and of the road that led them there, is a true political lesson that the Mozambicans have to learn.

This important meeting of the FRELIMO Party Leadership with the former war criminals has as its objective the restitution of Mozambican personality, the definitive liberation from a past committed to the colonialist ideology and repression.

Acting in the traditional FRELIMO manner, this meeting was frank and open, permitting an in-depth analysis of the past of alienation and treason so as to win more patriots for the country.

Through the various stories of the former war criminals, especially those who directly and frankly recounted their lives, it could be clearly seen to what point colonialism has destroyed their personality but, as the Chief of State said "They did not make Portuguese out of you. You remained Mozambicans. It

is this personality that must be rebuilt. It is this honor that must be restored to all Mozambicans, from Rovuma to Maputo."

What was heard at the meeting at the Josina Machel School are the stories of lives of alienation, repression and servility, but they are lives, as the FRELIMO Party has been demonstrating, which can be transformed in this new school of learning from life. They are lives, that after they are transformed, will rebuild man himself.

11634

CSO: 4742/315

REBUILDING OF MARITIME, RIVER FLEETS DISCUSSED

Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 3 May 82 p 2

[Text] One of the main tasks that the National Board of Maritime and River Transportation will carry out during this year is the rebuilding of the maritime fleets most of whose boats are operating under difficult conditions. For the officials of this sector this is the first step in the development of the maritime and river transportation enterprises--state and private--existing in the country, eight in all.

This decision was announced in Beira yesterday during a meeting to discuss the entire situation of maritime and river traffic. A spokesman for that meeting informed our reporters that the situation that was discussed is quite serious, since most of the existing boats have problems such as splintered hulls, damaged motors and lack of parts and replacement parts.

The plan for rebuilding the fleets envisages the importation of new motors and replacement parts for those that can still be salvaged; equipping boats traveling large distances with means of communications (radios); equipping the boats with lifejackets and creating conditions to make it possible for the firms to have the minimum facilities for maintaining the equipment.

In the specific case of Sofala, there are at present 17 boats, of which only 9 are operational but with many deficiencies.

A new motor has arrived for one of the boats that has been out of service for 2 years, and it is being installed. Another motor is also ready to be placed on another boat. The plan envisages that by the end of this year more motors and spare parts will arrive to put into operation 15 damaged boats.

As to the development of the maritime and river transportation enterprises, the establishment of a firm in Pemba and another in Lago Niassa is envisaged.

At the same time, maintenance centers will be created in all places where firms in this field exist or will be established.

Present at the national meeting held in Beira yesterday were representatives of the maritime and river transportation enterprises of Inhambane, Pemba, Ilha de Mocambique and Songo, in addition to Sofala whose delegation of the National Board of Maritime and River Transportation came to the meeting.

BRIEFS

NAMPULA MILITARY REGION COMMANDER--At the palace of resident minister in Sofala, Lt Gen Armando Guebuza, a farewell ceremony was held yesterday in honor of Maj Gen Eduardo Nihia who was recently appointed in Chaimite, Gaza Province, as commander of the Nampula military region by the President of FRELIMO and of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Marshal Samora Moises Machel. Present at the ceremony were members of the party and government. The guest of honor said that he was very moved by the reception, which he characterized as "a very big surprise." During the ceremony messages were read from members of the Sofala provincial government and the Mozambican Armed Forces, and presents were given to the guest of honor. [Text] [Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 11 May 82 p 16] 11634

CUBAN RADIO BROADCASTING COOPERATION--Talks between Radio Mozambique and the Cuban Institute of Radio and Television began in Maputo yesterday to strengthen the existing cooperation between the two organizations. At the start of the talks, the director general of Radio Mozambique, Leite Vasconcelos, stressed that cooperation between Mozambique and the Republic of Cuba, especially in the field of radio broadcasting, has been growing. He also pointed out that the presence of the Cuban delegation in our country was an encouragement to strengthen this cooperation. The vice chairman of the Institute of Radio and Television, head of the Cuban delegation, said for his part, that the agreement signed last year between this organization and Radio Mocambique opened the possibility for an advantageous cooperation, especially in the field of program exchanges. [Text] [Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 6 May 82 p 2] 11634

BRITISH COOPERATION IN PUNGUE BRIDGE--DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE has learned that the installation of the floating bridge on Pungue River will begin during the last 15 days of this month. According to our information, a British expert, who will supervise the work, is to arrive in Beira in the next few days. The floating bridge over the Pungue River was offered to our country by the Kingdom of the Netherlands which, for its part, purchased it from Britain. Working on the project will be 24 workers and 5 engineers--all Mozambican nationals--in addition to the British expert especially sent here by the building factory. It should be noted that this floating bridge will have a road over 4 meters wide and is built to support the weight of a 30 ton truck. [Excerpt] [Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 15 May 82 p 1] 11634

CSO: 4742/315

HOFFE REPLIES TO LANG'S ASSERTIONS

Windhoek ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 26 May 82 pp 5-6

[Text] Douglas Hoffe, local CDM [Consolidated Diamond Mines] director and president of the SWA/Namibia Chamber of Mines replied to a speech made before the IG [German Interest Group] by Eric Lang on 11 May 82 in Windhoek. Hoffe said that Eric Lang sharply criticized the governments of South Africa and SWA/Namibia, as well as the Diamond Council, the mining industry (especially the diamond industry) and the CDM. All those criticized by Lang should keep their distance from the unclear statements and misleading impressions resulting from Lang's speech. Hoping that he might clarify misunderstandings that could result from the publication of Lang's remarks, Hoffe said:

Unfortunately, Lang has made derogatory remarks which are based on false facts. His conclusions are of no importance and unfortunately lead to impressions that are dangerously misleading. A Windhoek newspaper has commented as follows on Lang's speech after it was published: "If this should be true, this diamond affair reeks of corruption and criminal action of a magnitude unknown [in this country]."

This commentary shows to what degree Lang's statements result indeed in wrong opinions, and cause members of the public to draw false conclusions.

The best way to deal with the greatest errors in Lang's speech is to explain again in detail several facts that concern the diamond industry. Mr. Lang talked about the SWA/Namibia Diamond Council. This is an official institution in which the government as well as the diamond producers of SWA/Namibia are represented. The government names the chairman and is represented by a majority of members on the council. The council is responsible for the accounting of all diamonds produced anywhere in SWA/Namibia.

Evaluation

The Diamond Council ships diamonds to its authorized representatives for evaluation. The council can thus supervise export and export taxes in relation to production.

After the diamonds have been evaluated and shipped to the market, the Diamond Council collects export taxes from the producer and turns them over to the

government. It does not collect taxes for diamond profits, mining taxes or taxes from shareholders abroad. Producers who are responsible for paying these taxes--including CDM--pay them directly to the government.

The records (books) of the Diamond Council are inspected and examined by the finance authorities. Details on tax contributions are contained in the budget plan and in the report of the chief records examiner, both of these are public documents published by the government.

Mr. Lang's report could cause considerable confusion about the sales methods for diamonds leaving SWA/Namibia.

Diamond Sales

Except for a small percentage of diamonds that are sold in South Africa, all diamonds produced in SWA/Namibia are sold to the Central Selling Organization (CSO) in London, through an organization known as the Diamond Producers Association (DPA). The DPA is formed on the basis of an agreement between the government of SWA/Namibia, the South African Government, CDM, De Beers, and the Diamond Corporation (P-ty) Ltd. As a partner in this agreement, the CDM received special authority from the administrator general. The association can be traced back to the year 1934.

The functions of the DPA are, among others, to receive the diamonds produced by the producing members, and to obtain independent productions if these are available in order to assure that all diamonds are sorted and properly evaluated--and conversely: on the basis of another agreement recognized by the DPA partners, to arrange for the sale of the members' production to the CSO.

Through the DPA, the government (with its interest in taxes) as well as the CDM (with its interest in profits) can make certain that SWA/Namibian diamonds are sold at the best possible profit. In Kimberly the diamonds are sorted and evaluated according to current sales offers and price lists, i.e. according to valid CSO prices for raw diamonds offered for inspection to international buyers in London. It is the stated principle of CSO to guarantee a firm price for raw diamonds and to raise the sales price over the years to amounts adapted to inflation, but only if high prices can be guaranteed and only in as much as, later on, polished diamonds can be sold to consumers as jewelry. Over the past 34 years, sales prices were raised 28 times, i.e. once every 15 months. The last increase took effect in February 1980.

No "Cheap" Diamonds

There are intensive methods that are supposed to assure that CDM receives the full sales price (minus the agreed CSO deductions) which, in turn, is no less advantageous than the price demanded by all other producer who sell their products through CSO. All these matters are most carefully watched in the interests of government and CDM. The price for diamonds produced in SWA/Namibia is not raised to the advantage of some third party at some given

time between evaluation and sale to CSO. The price remains constant until the diamonds have reached CSO.

In case of favorable conditions, when CSO can sell diamonds immediately, they are sold on the international market. If market conditions are unfavorable, diamonds are held back until the market is stable. Diamonds stored by the CSO are kept in storage by firms within the organization at their own expense. In view of the present high interest rates all over the world, the advantages of this system for producers are self-evident. If market conditions remain weak for a longer period of time, as right now, agreements on quotas previously made between CSO and the producers take effect immediately. Essentially, these agreements give each producer the right to ship his diamonds to CSO for sale on the market in the same proportion as that of his production capacity to total production that can be handled by the CSO.

In other words: it is wrong for Mr Lang to state that CDM sells its diamonds "cheap" and the CSO sells them "expensive" later on, a practice that is supposed to result in losses for CDM and the government.

Price Stability

The sales agreements of CDM are as advantageous as those for all other producers in the world who are selling diamonds through CSO and derive advantages as those for all other producers in the world who are selling diamonds through CSO and derive advantages from CSO services.

The principles of De Beers, the leader in the diamond industry, are to guarantee long-range stability and the prosperity of the industry as a whole. For this reason, De Beers founded CSO which markets more than 80 percent of the world's raw diamond production with many of these diamonds coming from independent countries in Africa and the Third World.

Even though, historically speaking, the trend for demand is on the increase, there were temporary reversals on the world market--as right now--which usually influenced the sales of diamonds of a certain size and quality. In such times, CSO directives provide for price stability by adjusting shipments to demand while purchases by producers are kept on a satisfactory level. Inappropriate decreases or restrictions of mining activities are thus avoided as much as possible to the advantage of the mining companies and producing countries.

Accounting Value

CDM and the government derive considerable advantages from this system and especially from the large financial resources that De Beers has accumulated and that enable the firm to hold back temporary production surpluses until demand has improved. At the end of 1981, the accounting value of De Beers inventories was 1.4 billion rand. It is clear that no producer by himself, and not even a national production group, is able to withdraw capital of this amount from circulation. Few could afford the loss of interest alone that such withdrawal means. Mr Lang's speech in no way

mentions this essential stabilizing factor in the industry. Stability has always been recognized as an essential component of the diamond industry because price fluctuations, which are considered normal in the field of most raw materials, would destroy public confidence in high quality diamonds. They are considered pure luxury and public ownership of jewelry is by far greater than current world production.

H.F. Oppenheimer said in regard to the price stabilizing function of CSO: "There is nobody who deals in diamonds--whether producer, dealer, polisher, jeweler or buyer--who does not derive benefits from this function. The CSO protects not only stock holders of the diamond companies but also the mine employees and the communities that depend on their work. We are aware of our responsibility not only toward share holders, not only toward the entire industry and the consumer community but also toward the governments of the countries in which we operate."

5,000 Categories

In order to sustain and increase the demand for diamonds, CSO supports advertisement and publicity campaigns in 26 countries, among them those with the biggest world markets. In 1982, the budget for advertising amount to no less than \$72 million. These expenses too would be far above the potential of an independent producer.

CSO handles between 20 and 30 million carat diamonds annually which are sorted into 5,000 categories according to size, shape, color and quality for sale to diamond polishers. Advanced technology and particularly the special knowledge of well-trained experts are necessary to weigh, sort and pack diamonds. Knowledge and skill must be updated continually in order to adapt to merchandize changes and polishing requirements. For this reason, CSO has close contacts with all customers in order to be continually informed about their needs and to adapt the principles of marketing to these needs.

Mr Lang referred to agreements with the South West Finance Corporation Ltd. These are agreements of long standing that can in effect be traced back into the previous century because in the Halbscheid Agreement all previous agreements are included that had been valid for the German Diamond Association DDG. The Halbscheid Agreement recognized CDM as the titular successor of DDG.

Tax Procedures

Lang made several unjust accusations in regard to tax procedures. It is appropriate to clear the air in this connection also. Since its establishment as a registered association in 1920, CDM has paid taxes on its profits to the government. CDM's account books are examined by certified account book examiners and can be inspected by the government. As a diamond firm, CDM pays a higher rate of taxes than any other tax payer.

Taxes paid to the government by CDM are always much higher than the dividends paid to stock holders.

(Commentary: Where are the answers to direct questions?

Why does our country have no diamond polishing industry? How much is actually paid in taxes? Do diamonds really cost less when they are sold to CSO? What exactly do they cost? Eric Lang's statements could have been dealt with by clear facts. In any case, CDM has shown its willingness to react to a complaint by a "man in the street".--The editor)

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SITUATION IN ANGOLA DISCUSSED

Windhoek ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 1 Jun 82 p 2

[Editorial by Hans Feddersen: "Letter From Angola."]

[Text] While military correspondents from South African newspapers were able to visit the "area of operations: last week in order to relate their findings to our press which, in turn, related them to the citizens of the country directly involved, the AZ [ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG] received a letter directly from Southern Angola. How does a person living in that part of the country view conditions there?

Item: on 4 February 1982 an important event took place: "Our president and all kinds of Soviet, East German and Cuban friends drove with Sam Nujoma through barricaded streets." Up to 20,000 people came out to meet them and caused a panic when somebody mistakenly identified a South African airplane as a UFO. Everybody ran wild, three children were trampled to death. Other children could be rescued with great effort.

"Bandits" are stealing whatever SWAPO and other gangs have left behind, such as block and tackles, aluminum roofs, ice boxes, chinaware and cattle. Burnt out military vehicles and warning signs that certain roads cannot be used because they are mined belong to the daily scene.

At a number of mission stations, from 40 to 60 people are reported to be dying from hunger each day. The food situation has not changed even after the UN Refugee Commission allotted 500 million in aid for Kunene refugees. Independence seems to be a dismal failure. The MPLA government is hurting from attacks on the Benguela railroad. 500 Yugoslavs are reported to have arrived in order to complete an airport in the south of the country. "Many other whites" are hanging around in Lubango. Lubango became a frontier town when the South Africans came as close as 200 km.

The writer of the letter speculates that the foreign ministers of Cuba and Angola have fabricated nice phrases in Luanda in order to throw sand into the eyes of the Americans. Accordingly, the Cubans are to be withdrawn as soon as Sam Nujoma takes power in Windhoek.

He would, of course, request them to come back immediately--and so the Cubans withdraw from Angola as soon as Namibia is independent. This should be clear to the South Africans. The writer of the letter asks if the United States will fall for this. We believe that the United States and the West are interested equally in Angola and an independent Namibia.

PRESIDENT DISCUSSES REGIME'S ACHIEVEMENTS, LIBYAN RELATIONS

Niamey LE SAHEL in French 7 May 82 pp 1-3

[Interview with Colonel Seyni Kountche]

[Excerpts] The magazine EUROPE OUTREMER has just published a special issue on Niger. This special issue evaluates measures taken by the CMS [Supreme Military Council] and the government since 1974 for the economic, social, and cultural development of our country.

On pages 2 and 3 we present the complete interview which head of state Colonel Seyni Kountche granted to EUROPE OUTREMER's special envoy on this occasion.

[Question] Mr President, 15 April marks the 8th anniversary of your assumption of power. Of all the work that you have completed so far, what are the aspects that you feel are most important?

[Answer] In a country like ours, it may seem presumptuous to rank or even just to favor certain aspects of the development movement over others, although at the onset some were perceived as urgent or top priority.

You know under what circumstances the national armed forces were led to take responsibility. Our primary ambition was to remove our country and our people from the disastrous situation into which an incredible combination of natural and human factors which, if you will permit, I will not review, had plunged it. It was necessary to put the most sensitive areas of national life into order immediately. We had to act quickly and satisfactorily to restore hope and confidence to close to 5 million Nigerians. With God's grace, the efforts put forth were crowned with success.

From that time onward, we have endeavored to define the major lines of structural development activity methodically and in an organized manner through a preliminary 1976-78 Three-Year Program, completed by the Five-Year Plan in progress. The objectives being aimed at through these measures are: achievement of self-sufficiency in food production; establishment of a development company; and pursuit of less economic dependence.

Under the circumstances, this has involved building ever more solid foundations for a national economy which is basically agricultural and still subject to the vagaries of weather. It was necessary, gradually but essentially, to withdraw our people from a precarious existence. The resources? We found them in our subsoil first of all, and then in the invaluable reserve of courage and ingenuity found in our people. We have basically devoted these resources to development of the rural world still represented by 90 percent of our population: construction of dams for water power/irrigation purposes, implementation of regional productivity projects, programs to reconstitute herds, opening up the interior by paving the major arteries and building service roads and rural runways.

In the same drive for progress and social justice, we initiated graduated and objective improvements of social conditions (schools, hospitals, supplying drinking water, electrification, subsidized housing), and a continuing restoration of our cultural heritage. The Samariya, which was once a proven method of organizing mutual aid and mass solidarity, was revived. A national festival offering each of our departments the social and educational facilities required for our young people to thrive physically and mentally has been established.

Visible progress has been made with regard to personal income: the inter-occupational guaranteed minimum wage has increased from 5,800 CFA francs in 1974 to more than 20,000 CFA francs in 1982; while in 1977 we eliminated the minimum tax, and more recently, the schedular tax on salaries and wages. The overall budget increased from some 14 billion in 1973-74 to close to 94 billion in 1981-82.

Similarly, in our foreign policy we feel proud to have not only strengthened the acceptance and the image of our country and our people, but also to have contributed, to the full extent of our capabilities, to the pursuit of peace and harmony among people; to the defense of their higher interests, their legitimate goals, and their inalienable rights, wherever they have been attacked or threatened.

Here, briefly outlined, are some indications of the struggle for liberation in which our people have been involved for close to 8 years. What encourages me personally and above all reassures me, is the tangible evidence of our people's ability to steadfastly and courageously confront the brutal realities of our ecosystem and geopolitics in unity and solidarity.

[Question] On 14 April 1979, you announced your plan to provide your country with original institutions in the form of a "Development Company." How has the preparation of these future institutions progressed so far, and what exactly will be their role?

[Answer] As I customarily say, there is no universal model for development. Based on its own economic, social, cultural, and even denominational realities, each nation must map out the development path which best responds to its concerns. As I said in 1979, for Niger the Development Company will be the perfect expression of the ideals, goals, and deep convictions of a people who are aware, self-confident, and in perfect harmony with their environment.

The National Commission established in 1979 and exclusively of the people in nature, has submitted its report. The government has adopted it. What remains is to translate the fruit of these 2 years of joint consideration into action. The process has been initiated. Each village, district or tribe; each canton or unit; in short, each administrative unit up to the national level will have its structures for motivation and production, of which the development institution will be the outcome. Once established, the Development Company will open a new era of strengthening unity and building the nation for Niger, while through cooperation, consultation, and participation, it will ensure the sound and responsible management of the state. The people will more fully assume control of their own destiny.

[Question] In your long message to the nation on the occasion of the 23rd anniversary of the proclamation of the republic, you did not mention the uranium problem. As this year begins, what are the international market perspectives for this strategic ore and their consequences for Niger? Didn't 1981 exports show an increase over the previous year?

[Answer] Although the perspectives for the international uranium market, or more precisely the international markets, are basically not gloomy, they are still a concern since after its sudden drop over the past 2 years, the price level that we allow for is still hesitating to recover to our satisfaction. However, we have some reason to hope for a gradual improvement in this state of affairs, basically considering the spirit of confident solidarity which prevails between Niger and its principal trading partners. If the current trend continues, subsequent readjustment of our economic investment programs, which at the moment obviously require appropriate financial support, can be hoped for. Efforts are being pursued both with regard to profitability and to increasing production with the putting into operation of the SONICAR [Nigerien Coal Company] power plant to supply backup power to the mining region on the one hand, and with the imminent start-up of the Tassa N'Taghalgue Mining Company, an eloquent expression of the confidence that Niger inspires in its friends, on the other.

[Question] Mr President, why do you sell uranium to Libya while denouncing its attempts to destabilize the area and its Pan-Saharan propaganda? Are these sales intentionally limited?

[Answer] As long as we have an urgent need to build the nation, uranium will be an eminently marketable product to us. At present it is our preferred tool for financing development. This is a reality, perhaps an economic one, despite the clouds which are momentarily shadowing our political relationships with some of our partners. In this regard, we make a distinction between politics and commerce, with the latter more directly under the responsibility of the Nigerien Office of Mine Resources, a public industrial and commercial establishment. A fair distinction. Wait, look around a little so you will understand what many governments have understood: you have to be able to transcend the political incidents which attract attention to perceive through them each time the historical necessity of cooperation among people with strict respect for the dignity, sovereignty, and interests of each.

This being the case, I clearly state and reaffirm that Niger has always respected the guarantees called for on the international level for the use of uranium for strictly peaceful purposes, and requires them of its trading partners.

[Question] You recently told a major French paper: "Our stride has been broken." However, of all the non-petroleum-producing African countries stricken with drought and crisis, isn't Niger still relatively well off?

[Answer] I will immediately say, No! Of course, the Sahel and our land-locked location are external limitations with which Niger must inevitably reckon. Not only are we suffering the effects of the world economic crisis and particularly the inflation of prices for products and services, as are the other non-petroleum-producing countries, but in addition we must bear the costs of transportation to and from the coast. Confronting so many aggravating factors while all of a sudden our resources have been diminished by the dizzying drop in uranium prices--I will let you be the judge. So, our only advantage lies in our determination to overcome the effects of the economic situation at all costs and to give our development firmer foundations and more stable structures.

[Question] Your careful attention to food production is well known, but, despite all the efforts exerted, a new grain shortage--a limited one, it is true--was recorded for the last harvest. In your opinion, has the Sahel's delicate balance been permanently disrupted?

[Answer] Disrupted, yes; although the situation varies from one country to the next. But, this disruption should not be permanent. We do not know how long this cycle of drought which, despite some hesitation, does seem to be yielding to a mild cycle, will last. This is therefore not a permanent disruption, but a bad period to be passed through. There is also the policy of constructing large dams on the Senegal, Gambia, and Niger Rivers which are a source of hope for the Sahel's food and energy balance. Provided that we are understood and assisted in this process.

[Question] One of Niger's great hopes is the Kandadji dam. How do you respond to those who criticize these large dam projects, in particular because they cause significant dislocation of populations, because irrigating tens of thousands of hectares is very expensive and requires qualified personnel, because they contribute to the spread of diseases related to the water supply, etc.?

[Answer] Construction of a large multipurpose dam is a pressing necessity for Niger. I will explain. In the area of agriculture, Niger's goal is to attain self-sufficiency in food production by combining traditional dry crops and irrigated crops. The terrible drought which we experienced in the 70's brought to light the vulnerability of a policy based uniquely on dry crops, in other words dependent on rainfall and its distribution. Our potential in land which could be irrigated from surface waters is currently estimated at 270,000 hectares, including 140,000 (or 52 percent) in the Niger River valley. Various technical studies have shown that unless its flow is regulated, the

river can only cover the water requirements of 13,000 to 20,000 hectares at the maximum. Obviously, if we do not regulate the river's flow by building the Kandadji dam, we will not be developing close to 120,000 hectares which are suitable for irrigation.

It is true, as the critics of the large dams state, that if certain measures and precautions are not taken in time, the complete benefits expected from a large project may not be achieved.

From the beginning, the problem of displacing people whose homes and some capital goods will be flooded by the dammed waters has been a major concern. To confront this problem, we are going to devote a sum of over 500 million CFA francs to studies--and studies alone--of resettling people. It must also be said that the number of people directly affected by the Kandadji dam reservoir is far less than those affected by other African projects. In fact, the general census taken in 1979 shows that for the highest water estimate (228), 18,000 people would be affected (for the Kaindji dam in Niger and the Kossou dam in the Ivory Coast, the figures were 44,000 and 100,000 persons respectively).

Creating a large reservoir in the Kandadji region has a good chance of increasing existing diseases related to water supplies. Preliminary studies will pinpoint the ecology of the major disease-carrying organisms so that conditions favorable to their development will not be recreated. These studies are currently in progress and will cost us close to \$1 million. Without prejudging the results of these studies, there are two methods which can be implemented simultaneously to fight these diseases: active methods, such as preventive and curative health care within the structure of or based on health care organizations; and passive methods basically involving hygiene.

Investments related to the dam and to hydro and agricultural development are heavy indeed; especially in the current economic situation. But, it must be noted that the dam construction is staggered over a 5-year period, and that as for the irrigated areas, we have allowed for a period of 40 years for the development of the 140,000 hectares in the river valley. Qualified personnel will be put on the job as development progresses, within the context of an overall professional training program for which we already have the first drafts.

But, despite the size of the investments, the Kandadji project showing itself to be economically, financially, and socially beneficial. It is the type of project without which we cannot be economically independent, since there can be no independence without a guaranteed food supply and, in the Sahel, in any case, a guaranteed food supply cannot be conceived of without water management and a modernized system for irrigating the land. Furthermore, the significance of the "Energy" component of the Kandadji project must be stressed and properly evaluated.

With an estimated production of between 715 and 811 gigawatts/hour for a water level of 228, which based on 1980 represents approximately 7 times the city of Niamey's power consumption, Kandadji's energy output will definitely

have a positive effect on our petroleum bill and, consequently, on the nation's overall economic activity.

[Question] Now that their troops have withdrawn from Chad, is a normalization of your relations with Libya foreseeable, as you seem to have implied in your message to the nation on 19 December last year?

[Answer] The deterioration of our relations with Libya is not due to the Libyan presence in Chad, but to diverging opinions on how relations maintained by two sovereign states are to be conducted. Nevertheless, as a good saying of ours puts it, "When your neighbor's beard catches fire, put yours in the water," and, consequently, any threat to Chad's peace and security is also felt as such by the countries directly bordering it.

As for normalization of our relations with the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, we have never excluded the possibility and we are not excluding it. Many factors militate for it, especially our proximity; our common faith; and our membership in institutions for international cooperation, such as the OAU, the Movement of Non-Aligned Nations, the Organization of Saharan States, the Islamic Conference Organization, etc. But, as I was saying, there are preliminaries which must be enacted through frank and constructive dialogue with no passion or ulterior motives.

[Question] While your country remains completely calm, and unity does not seem at all endangered, what meaning can be assigned to the departure of about 12 people, including high level officials, for Tripoli in the month of August?

[Answer] Escape from responsibility. Those who preceded them returned to us better educated on the reality of affairs. Truth on this side, error beyond, said Pascal.

[Question] Mr President, what are your relations with the new French administration, and in particular, what is the status of French-Nigerien cooperation in uranium matters?

[Answer] Our relations with Mr Mitterrand's administration are excellent, as French-Nigerien relations, which are marked by steadfastness of commitment and harmony of principles, have always been. There is the fact of history, but there is also and especially a clear, realistic and objective vision of the concept of cooperation which we basically share with the new government. The contacts that I personally have had with the president of the republic and the benevolent demonstrations of friendship and solidarity that his government has never failed to display toward us; strengthen us further in our mutual desire to bring French-Nigerien cooperation to its high point.

The French head of state's approaching visit to Niger conveys and symbolizes the reserve of esteem and confidence between our two governments. This will be an opportunity to enrich our philosophy of cooperation and to consolidate as necessary and as desired the foundations which underly it.

NATION SAID TO BE WELL ADMINISTERED DESPITE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Paris L'EXPANSION in French 21 May-3 Jun 82 pp 122-131

[Article by Erik Izraelewicz: "Niger-on-Uranium--Drought and Drop in Uranium Price Hinder a Well-Managed Country"]

[Excerpt] "Boss....gift." The child from Niamey that accosts us with these two words still does not know about the catastrophe that took place in the city the night before. The big market, the nerve center of the Nigerien economy was consumed in flames. The fire of unknown origin is a veritable national catastrophe.

On this morning of the beginning of April, bulldozers are removing the debris and ashes of 7 hectares which had been occupied by 3,000 small businessmen. They are all there, uneasy, all in one compact crowd of people. None of them has been assured. They have lost everything: their stocks of a thousand and one items that make up an African market. Their savings too: large bundles of bank notes fed the flames. Overall, some 5 billion CFA francs, or about 100 million francs, the equivalent of 5 percent of the national budget. Decidedly, Niger, one of the poorest countries of the world, has no luck. The past 10 years give proof of this. Everybody remembers the terrible pictures of scrawny little African children, victims of the Sahel drought between 1967 and 1973. With foreign aid and the sudden wealth derived from uranium Niger thought that it could make it. A new blow of fate: the drop in the price of uranium has cast the country back into inextricable difficulties.

The equation is almost commonplace. A poor country bases its development on one raw material. Economic take-off has begun. The price of the raw material crumbles. The meshing of indebtedness, recession and destabilization is therefore inevitable. The only thing is that Niger is not at all a country like others. Nature has not given it many gifts. As stressed by Wanis Semerdjan, permanent resident of the UNDP [United Nations Development Program] in Niamey: "Niger is handicapped by nature." It accumulates all ills. A vast desert country (twice as big as France), sparsely populated (5.6 million inhabitants), very hot and dry climate with uncertain rainfall, it is landlocked, without direct access to the sea, while its illiteracy rate has reached record levels.

Nevertheless, the economic take-off begun during the period 1974-1979 has been managed, according to unanimous opinion, in a remarkably healthy fashion. The number one place of honor goes to Col Seyni Kountche, president of the Supreme Military Council. Having come to power on 15 April 1974 after a military coup d'etat, he attacked corruption with perserverance and success. And he set the country into a developmental policy centered on a priority basis on food self-sufficiency.

From a military aspect, he has maintained its methods. Authoritarian, he does not hesitate to threaten with prison those who do not in time carry through in their obligations or those who try to divert public funds for their own use...and he implements his threats. A man of the soil, he pays attention to all operations. His "showing up" at customs offices, his intervening in rural development projects or in the ministries is not unusual. Leading a rather austere life, he wants to be an example for his ministers, most of whom are civilians. He profited from two pieces of good luck--an improvement in rainfall levels and especially the increase in the price of uranium beginning in 1973--to put Niger on the economic take-off runway. In 1974, he set up a national investment fund supplied with the revenues derived from uranium. Results were eloquent. Despite strong demographic pressures (annual 2.7 percent growth), food self-sufficiency was practically arrived at in 1979 and 1980. The livestock herds were reconstituted and the effects of the drought practically eliminated.

Business activity experienced a veritable explosion. Also, Niamey, the capital. It was completely transformed: a few multi-storied buildings appeared, an international hotel, topped off by a Congress Palace on the edge of the Niger River. A businessman used to African capitals said "Honestly, it was not deluxe." There are now more cars crossing Kennedy Bridge than camels. Numerous dispensaries, schools and administrative office buildings have been inaugurated. Joseph Detraux, director of the Nigerien branch of the BNP [National Bank of Paris], stated "without any exaggerated expenditures."

Today, however, the time of euphoria has passed.

A village north of Niamey. Seated in a half circle around a small collective television screen--another fruit of the good times--about 30 people wearing jeans, boubous or military uniforms religiously listen to a speech by President Kountche on the occasion of the eighth anniversary of the coup d'etat. Three quarters of an hour of an austere harangue, without a trace of demagogy: we must work, consolidate what has been acquired, but also prepare ourselves for a pause in development. This was the inevitable consequence of the drop in the price of uranium, something that is thought to be long-lasting.

Uranium...Right in the middle of the desert, a long asphalt ribbon leads to Arlit, 1,500 kilometers north of the capital. A city of 25,000 inhabitants has risen from the ground, an oasis of greenery and prosperity. Its raison d'etre is to be found a few kilometers away in a moonscape setting: a vast open-cut mine that last year supplied 2,100 tons of this precious ore.

SOMAIR [Air Region Mining Company] (one-third of which belongs to the Nigerien state through ONAREM [National Office of Mineral Resources], one-third to COGEMA [General Nuclear Materials Company] and the remainder to German and Italian shareholders) has been mining uranium since 1971.

Ten kilometers further away, another village, Akotan, is home for COMINAK [Akouta Mining Company] (one-third belonging to the Nigerien state, one-third to COGEMA and the remainder to private French, Japanese and Spanish interests) personnel. This latter company is the other mining company that has been mining an underground mine since only 1978. Total production of the two mines in 1981 (4,300 tons) put Niger in the fourth world place for uranium producers, behind the United States, Canada and South Africa.

COGEMA experts recognize that the uranium reserves of Niger are gigantic. At the end of the 1970's, there was thought being given to opening four or six other mines. Both Americans and Japanese were very active. However, the drop in the price, especially sharp since 1980, caused them to back off from these projects. Will it be long-lasting? Nigerien officials who refuse to be fooled reckon it as yes. Indeed, all factors are against Niger: world recession, slowdown of electronuclear programs in industrialized countries, as well as the new interest shown in coal and the drop in the price of petroleum. Finally,--and perhaps more serious--the discovery of many more profitable deposits as those beginning to be mined in Australia.

Another "Providential" Purchaser

Therefore, the drop in the price on the "spot" market weighed heavily beginning in 1980, on the negotiations between Niger and her partners, as well as the stockholders of the two companies which remove the extracted uranium of the two mines in proportion to their participation. Price and quantities were the subject of difficult talks. Finally, in 1981 and 1982, the Western partners agreed to maintain an excess price of about 20 percent in relation to the spot market price. According to a French negotiator, the most difficult part was to persuade certain European partners, particularly the FRG and Spain.

Not a consumer of uranium, Niger encountered difficulties in selling its own share. France made a gesture in 1981 by purchasing 600 tons of the Nigerien share. However, another "providential" purchaser appeared: Libya which has purchased close to 2,000 tons since 1978 at a price still higher than the negotiated price. Nobody knows what the country of Colonel Qadhafi is doing with this uranium. Is it stocking it? Is it reselling it to the Pakistanis, Soviets, or to other Arab countries?

Pressure on prices make mining more and more difficult. The two companies have, moreover, experienced sensitive fiscal years over the past 2 years because production costs, already high to begin with, are growing: the construction of entire cities in the middle of the desert, their management and upkeep, all the benefits--extra wages, various compensations--to be granted personnel (of whom 500 French families) to entice them to come to work under difficult conditions, as well as the big costs for vocational training

within the framework of the "Nigerization" plans pledged by the two companies, all of these factors weigh heavily on the mining accounts.

This does not include exceptional transportation costs: The mining manager of Arlit mine explains that "to produce 1 ton of uranium we import 30 tons of raw material." Sulphur, magnesium...that come from France or the United States. Once they have arrived in Africa (in Cotonou, Benin), this merchandise must still cover 2,500 kilometers partly by train and partly by truck.

Philippe Moureau, COMINAK mining manager, stresses that the two Nigerien mines, on the other hand, still offer undeniable benefits: "An ore with a relatively high content, continuous operation 24 hours a day and 365 days a year for the underground mine, and, above all, a level of production greatly superior to that of the French mines: from each of our two mines we extract as much uranium as all the French mines put together."

Nevertheless, Mahamane Annou, Nigerien minister of mines and industries, recognizes, "If there were a veritable market for uranium, we would perhaps not be competitive. However, there is not, for the time being, a world market obeying the conventional laws of offer and demand." He therefore refuses to rely solely on the spot market for determining prices, where only marginal quantities of the ore are transiting. "Uranium is a product affected by strong political and psychological coefficients." He mentioned that in 1977 and 1978, the price Niger sold uranium to its partners was lower than the spot price: Niger was therefore paying for the cost of security for the sale of its uranium. It is normal that today consumers pay for the security of their being supplied.

Negotiations Followed With Interest

In the eyes of the Nigerien leaders, they are not paying dearly. "Our 1973-1983 plan had been established on the basis of a price of a kilogram of uranium constant in real value." The proof that Minister of Planning Mamane Brah proposes is simple: "In 1981, the price should have been 29,500 CFA francs a kilogram. It was 20,000. In 1982, it should have reached 32,000 francs. It was 24,000. You can imagine the loss that represents for our economy." The Nigeriens have therefore followed with interest the negotiations between France and Algeria on gas. Just as President Seyni Kountche, Mahamane Annou is very much in favor of a "development contract" according to which the uranium price would be fixed for a period of 3 to 5 years. Aid would be integrated into the price in order to "replace aid by trade." "Instead of seeing producer countries of raw materials sell their product at constantly decreasing prices and these same countries always asking for more public aid for development, it appears to us more healthy to upgrade once again the price of raw materials." This is an idea that is not easy to be accepted by most of Niger's partners--even France when one recalls criticism provoked by the Algerian gas contract.

There remains the hope for a turning around of the nuclear situation that certain experts anticipate for 1985. Mahamane Annou states, "We must go through this period of turbulence without trouble but we must also prepare

ourselves for the resumption in the best conditions." Hence the obstinate desire of the Nigerien authorities to open up a third mine just beside those already mined--"a project linked to the good old times," according to a French expert.

It was already very difficult to set up the capital even of the SMTT [Tassa N'Taghalgue Mining Company]. It was at last arrived at last February, with equal distribution between three partners, Kuwait, COGEMA and ONAREM (representing the Nigerien state). It was, indeed, France, in the form of a subsidized loan of the Economic Cooperation Central Fund, that financed Niger's share. Cost of the investment: 4 billion francs. The minister of mines recognized, "I understand that such a figure is frightening." The Nigeriens are therefore reportedly ready to accept an intermediary solution permitting a reduction in expenditures.

The drop in the price of uranium was reflected by a slump in budgetary revenues that were scheduled to be assigned to the national investment fund. Surpassing 20 billion CFA francs in the best of years, these revenues were no more than 14 billion in 1981, and less than 5 billion are anticipated for 1982. While waiting for a possible turnaround in the uranium market, Niger is therefore beginning a long....passage over the desert. Three ways are possible: a call for foreign assistance, borrowing and austerity. They will be simultaneously followed.

Cooperation with traditional partners is to be continued. France, the number one moneylender (with 27 percent of overall aid over the 6 past years), has already agreed to make an extra effort by granting special assistance in the amount of 100 million francs for the financing of the national investment fund in 1982. West Germany, the United States, as well as the major international organizations, mainly the European Development Fund, will not spare their efforts.

As a gesture giving his approval for the strict policy being carried out by President Kountche, Alden Clausen, the new World Bank president, visited Nigerien officials in the latter part of April and granted them new credits. For the same reason, the UN will double its contribution, raising it to 40 million dollars for the period 1982-1986. Niger, whose population is more than 95 percent Muslim, has also turned toward the Arab countries. It is expecting mainly broad assistance from Saudi Arabia. A check equal to 380 million francs is scheduled to symbolize Arab-African cooperation on the occasion of the Islamic conference of foreign affairs scheduled, in principle, to take place in Niamey in August.

Another supporter is declaring that it is ready "to aid" Niger: Qadhdhafi's Libya. Relations between the two colonels are at the least in conflict, the "wealthy one" trying, through the intermediary of the Touaregs--those nomads of the desert--to destabilize the "poor one." Last March, after having renewed diplomatic relations that had been broken for several months, Seyni Kountche is keeping his distance despite deliveries of uranium and despite the sight of buses circulating in Niamey tagged with the inscription "gift of the Libyan Arab people to the Nigerien people." Evidence of this was

the arrest at the end of April of about 15 Touaregs in a Jeep who had been suspected by Nigerien authorities of preparing an attack against the two mining villages.

A second way is borrowing. Here, prospects are more limited. Present costs are exorbitant. The foreign debt of the country has greatly increased over the past 2 years. Nevertheless, in the eyes of foreign bankers, it still remains reasonable, in the vicinity of 4.8 billion francs, a sum that represents a servicing of the public debt of 12 percent of the amount of export revenues approximately.

Two other factors are of concern: the big increase of the trade deficit that is going to continue until 1984; and especially the great indebtedness of the state vis-a-vis firms. "Delays in payment" reportedly will amount to 20 million CFA francs (400 million francs). The Public Dredging and Works, the main firm of the area, does not hide its concern: with a stagnant business turnover in the past 2 years of around 10 billion CFA francs, it is presently accumulating a state debt approximating 5 billion francs. Several French firms are, moreover, envisaging a discreet withdrawal.

There remain the health management and budgetary strictness thanks to which the country is maintaining, despite difficulties, a good image in the financial community. Announced during a speech on the state of the union, a provisional plan--imitation inherited from the colonial era?--is scheduled to be established. The priorities of the 1979-1983 plan will be maintained overall: national independence, food self-sufficiency and the setting up of a "development company." Up to 1983, "the attainments will be consolidated," i.e., no new project will be started. The minister of planning explains that "the provisional 1984-1985 plan actually will be a spreading out over 7 years of goals initially fixed for a 5 year period." Are severe cuts in prospect? "Everything that was to be financed by our own resources, certain administrative buildings, for example." Therefore, austerity in the life of the state. Also to be finely screened are the management of public and mixed economy firms as well as the tax system. A discreet mission of the IMF has reportedly already begun working on this latter topic.

Apparently President Seyni Kountche intends to concentrate his meager available resources on projects that appear to him as being vital: the third uranium mine and the Kandadji dam on the Niger River, an investment of 2 to 3 billion francs. It will have three objectives: regularizing the river, energy production and irrigation of 130,000 hectares of land. The project, being studied since 1976, has been the subject of many disputes among many potential moneylenders interested in the operation. Problems regarding the site, profitability, priority among the various objectives and the spreading out of the financing raise doubts as to its being implemented. Studies already carried out have not eliminated the reservations of certain moneylenders.

During his stay in Niamey in mid-April, [minister delegate to the Ministry of External Relations for Cooperation] Jean-Pierre Cot said, "We will completely adhere to the objectives of the dam." He added that studies would be conducted over the next 2 years--one way or another to let it be understood that France could finance the projects but also to have our partners exercise patience.

KOUNTCHE DISCUSSES URANIUM PRICES, FRENCH RELATIONS

Paris L'EXPANSION in French 21 May-3 Jun 82 p 125

[Interview with Nigerien President Seyni Kountche on the day after the ceremonies marking the eighth anniversary of the taking over of power by the army [15 April 1974] by Erik Izraelewicz; place not specified]

[Excerpt] Firmness, pragmatism and nonalignment: Col Seyni Kountche, 51 years of age, president of the Supreme Military Council, appears to many observers as one of the rising personalities in the second generation of African leaders in the post-independence period. We questioned him on the day after the ceremonies marking the eighth anniversary of the takeover of power by the army.

Erik Izraelewicz: Your state of the nation speech can be summarized as "consolidating the attainments." Can Niger sustain a pause in its development?

Syeni Kountche: When a well-known minister of your country used the expression pause, that caused a stir. We have reverted to it, I believe, and today it appears that this idea has been accepted. For us, we must first of all digest what we have eaten. We must avoid indigestion in terms of development. Then, I believe that it is preferable to impose something on one's self before somebody else imposes it on us. We do not want to wait for someone to tell us: "Messrs Nigeriens, you are going too fast. Here are the conditions you must respect." It is true that this causes anxiety among the world of labor. As for the good farmer, whether or not there is a pause, what is of interest to him is to have his fertilizer and products to fight the enemies of crops. We will do everything so that he will continue being supplied. As for the firms, mainly construction firms and small and medium-sized businesses, we have taken measures to guarantee them a minimum of activity up to the end of 1983, thanks to our own efforts and to aid or cooperation that we maintain with certain countries.

[Question] Was the bottom of your decision the apparently long-lasting drop in the price of uranium, Niger's only exportable product?

[Answer] Not that only. It is true, uranium is a spring for our economy. If the drop in the price of uranium is one cause, the economic situation on a world level is another one.

[Question] Can you foresee a turnaround for uranium in the short run?

[Answer] As far as uranium prices are concerned, there was a small glimmer this year. Whether or not it will be borne out, I do not know. Only the powerful in this world could be in a position to answer. Like all producer countries of raw materials, we put up with the misunderstanding and injustice of the present world.

[Question] Uranium mines in Canada and the United States are being closed down. Is the opening up of a third mine in Niger, the SMTT [Tassa N'Taghalgue Mining Company], under such conditions well-advised?

[Answer] We must not stop everything. The third mine is already experiencing a delay because of the economic situation. We are looking for a formula together with our French and Kuwaiti partners that would permit us to begin mining this mine in favorable economic conditions.

[Question] To finance the national investment fund this year, you counted on aid from Saudi Arabia. Despite your trip to Riyadh last month, it still has not come forth.

[Answer] I did not go to Saudi Arabia especially for that. Saudi Arabia has participated and is participating in Niger's development efforts. I use as proof of this the construction of means of communication, its contribution to our balance of payments, its deeds for all the Sahel countries, its big contribution to the Islamic Bank, as well as its participation in Nigerien agricultural and irrigation projects. Saudi Arabia's commitment goes beyond the FNI [National Investment Fund]. For this year, the principle has been attained. It is no more than a question of procedure between the interested ministers.

[Question] France is the number one moneylender of the country. Have you noted any changes in your relations with Paris over a year?

[Answer] In the field of cooperation, France has remained France, and its interests are the same. The change that has taken place in your country has not at all prejudiced the development projects planned.

[Question] No change then?

[Answer] We note (is this due to the nature of men in power?), let us say, a flexibility, a moralization and greater simplicity in our relations with them. Nigeriens are simple people. They are even more than at their ease in their relations with Paris.

[Question] Are you not afraid that the France of Mitterrand will turn more toward those nations in the Third World that have a civilian government claiming socialism?

[Answer] Regardless of what Niger says we are always given a certain label. Those who come to Niger discover what we are. We are revolutionary without

saying it because we are simply preoccupied in the quest for the Nigerien man.

[Question] The North-South dialogue has become "a dialogue of the deaf," according to your own words. Is this a condemnation of the initiatives by Francoise Mitterrand?

[Answer] Cancun was not negative. This meeting created psychological conditions that have led certain countries to revise their attitude vis-a-vis the North-South dialogue. France has always tried to play the role of catalyst. But what can France do all alone?

5671

CSO: 4719/1041

CNTS FEDERATIONS REDUCED FROM TWENTY-TWO TO FIFTEEN

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 20 Apr 82 p 5

[Article by M.S. Ndiaye: "Reorganization of Federations"]

[Text] The third regular congress of the National Workers' Federation, which saw the election of Madia Diop to the office of secretary general, replacing Babacar Diagne, also adopted the reorganization plan submitted for its approval. This plan, prepared by the National Committee for Trade Union Revival, reduced the number of trade union federations from 22 to 15.

The principal concern of the committee members was to merge the trade unions in terms of sectors of activity. Thus, the municipal workers trade union, which was independent up to the present time, is now incorporated into the General Administration Workers Federation. This decision did not receive the consent of all municipal workers who wanted to retain their independence in view of the differences between administrative public office and communal public office. The other major change concerns the "fat bodies" incorporated in the chemical industries. The SONAR [National Company for Supplying Oil Mills] trade union will henceforth be integrated into the Federation of Agriculture and Forestry Workers.

In another connection the Cooperation workers called for certain specificity. On this point, the chairman of the committee indicated that they must first organize as a trade union. From that time on, the new confederal office will undertake to find them as affiliation. Madia Diop specified that the list of federations is not exhaustive and that the office could be induced to make new changes. That will depend on the workers' dynamism and their aptitude for organizing. Here is the new organization of the trade union federations of the National Confederation of Senegalese Workers (CNTS).

Federation of General Administration Worker Trade Unions

- Administrative Department Workers Trade Union;
- General Administration Chauffeurs Trade Union;
- Trade Union of Agents of Financial and Bookkeeping Departments;
- National Assembly Workers Trade Union;

--Trade Union of Civilian Personnel of the Armed Forces;

--Departmental Agents Trade Union;

--Economic Control Workers' Trade Union;

--Justice Workers Trade Union;

--Municipal Workers Trade Union.

Federation of Trade Unions of Workers in Public Works

--Trade Union of Workers in Public Works and Hydraulics;

--State Press Workers Trade Union;

--Trade Union of Workers of the Autonomous Port of Dakar;

--ASECNA [Agency for Air Navigation Safety in Africa and Madagascar]
Workers Trade Union.

Federation of Trade Unions of Telecommunications Workers

--OPT [Postal, Telegraphic Office] Workers Trade Union;

--Tele-Senegal Workers Trade Union;

--ORTS Workers Trade Union.

Federation of Education Workers Trade Unions

--Trade Union of School and University Workers;

--Trade Union of Workers in Lay Elementary Education;

--Senegalese Professors Trade Union;

--Trade Union of Teachers in Private Lay Schools.

Federation of Agriculture and Forestry Workers Trade Unions;

--Trade Union of Agricultural Workers;

--Trade Union of Forestry and Game Agents;

--SONAR [National Company for Supplying Oil Mills] Workers Trade Union;

--Scientific Research Center Workers Trade Union;

--Technical and Agricultural Center Workers Trade Union;

--SODEVA [Company for Developing Agricultural Extension Services] Workers Trade Union;

--SAED [Company for Distribution and Exploitation of the Senegal River Delta and Valley Lands] Workers Trade Union.

Federation of Trade Unions of Workers in Commerce, Banks and Financial Institutions and of Entertainment Enterprises

--Trade Union of Business Employees and Executives;

--Entertainment Enterprise Workers Trade Union;

--Bank and Credit Organization Employees Trade Union;

--Insurance Employees Trade Union.

Federation of Food and Hotel Industry Workers Trade Unions

--Food Industry Workers Trade Union;

--Bakery Workers Trade Union;

--Agricultural and Food Complex Workers Trade Union;

--SERAS [Company for Exploitation of Senegalese Animal Resources] Workers Trade Union;

--Oil Mill Workers Trade Union;

--Hotel and Restaurant Workers Trade Union;

--Servants Trade Union.

Federation of Trade Unions of Workers in the Chemical and Extractive Industries

--Chemical Industry Workers Trade Union;

--Extractive Industry Workers Trade Union.

Federation of Trade Unions of Workers in Textile and Garment Manufacturing Industries

--Textile and Laundry Industry Workers Trade Union;

--Garment Manufacturing Industry Workers Trade Union;

--SODEFITEX [Company for Development of Textile Fibers] Workers Trade Union.

Federation of Trade Unions of Workers in the Steel Industry, General Engineering and Printing and Kindred Industries;

--Trade Union of Workers in General Engineering;

--Trade Union of Workers in the Steel Industry and Enamelling;

--Printing Industry Workers Trade Union;

--Dakar Marine Workers Trade Union.

Federation of Trade Unions of Workers in the Building Industries, Private Public Works and Sanitation

--Trade Union of Workers in Building and Private Public Works;

--Trade Union of Furniture and Wood Workers;

--Trade Union of Sanitation Workers.

Federation of Transport Workers Trade Unions

--Railroad Workers Trade Union;

--SOTRAC Workers Trade Union;

--Air Transport Workers Trade Union;

--Highway and Urban Transport Workers Trade Union;

--Trade Union of Senegalese Dockers, Watchmen and Jig-Bore Operators;

--Transport Auxiliaries Trade Union;

--Fishers Trade Union.

Federation of Energy Workers Trade Unions

--SONEES [Senegalese National Water and Electricity Company] Workers Trade Union;

--SENELEC [National Company for Energy Exploitation] Workers Trade Union;

--Petroleum and Gas Workers Trade Union.

Federation of Social Security Workers Trade Unions

--Social Security Fund Workers Trade Union;

--IPRES Workers Trade Union;

--IPM Workers Trade Union.

Federation of Health Workers Trade Unions

--Public Health Workers Trade Union;

--Private Health Workers Trade Union;

--Stockbreeding Workers Trade Union.

9380

CSO: 4719/904

TEACHING OF ARABIC LANGUAGE CONSIDERED POLITICIZED

Dakar ETUDES ISLAMIQUES in French No 13 Apr 82 p 11

[Article by Hamady Coulibaly, inspector of Arabic language instruction in Senegal: "The Teaching of Arabic Must Be Depoliticized"]

[Excerpt] Since independence, the teaching of Arabic has not, up to now, had the fate it deserves; far from it.

It has now become private property, reserved exclusively for the trade unionist politicians of the PS [Socialist Party] regime. They do with it what they please and as they please.

Lets take for an example the anarchic recruitment of "Arabic language teachers," which continues to be done without any precise criteria. That is not to say that we are against the recruitment of Arabic language teachers--far from it--but we wish only that the recruitment complied with objective conditions, because of the responsibility that any Arabic teacher will assume in the future in his dual capacity as instructor and educator.

For several years we have been constantly attending meetings and study days on the subject of the teaching of Arabic with a view to its so-called regulation (the study day organized at the Dakar Islamic Institute in March 1979, the Mbour seminar in April 1981). But in reality all the sessions have yet to serve a purpose, except to disorganize it further.

This teaching suffers from still other problems, namely:

The absence of a precise program, the lack of school books, failure to introduce Arabic during normal hours (up to now Arabic courses have been given only after 1700 hours), etc. However, such organization would not present so many problems if only the political "authorities" were willing.

Despite the promises constantly being repeated by the regime's "mouthpieces," the teaching of Arabic in the public sector has still not undergone a period of "reorganization". We were going to say "of disinfection", both in terms of pedagogical training of teachers and in terms of their administrative situation, particularly their promotion, for example, by creating professional examinations.

During the recent congress of the trade union of young teachers of Arabic, the same scenes of self-congratulatory evaluations and grandiloquent promises again were marched across our screen. In reality, the Arabic language instructors were left hanging. They would be less so if the minister of national education had spoken to them concretely about the salaries of the 50 assistant teachers recruited several months ago, because they may well meet the same fate reserved for their seniors, recruited a year earlier (see the article "In voluntary Volunteers", ETUDES ISLAMIQUES No 12 January 1982). Or if he speaks to them about the problem of integrating the students in their last term at the Franco-Arab College, who are victims of Decree No 77-987 of 14 November 1977, as well as the problem of the other graduating students of the same Franco-Arab College who have done their practice teaching in Tunisia and who quite justly are calling for their reclassification in the teaching profession.

There is also the case of graduates of the Arab universities who were recruited as assistant teachers before the creation of the Arab section of the ENS. These latter are justly calling for their reclassification as assistant teachers without any preliminary conditions. We should also add to this the situation of the 250 "assistant teachers in training" recruited last year, who up to now still do not know how and when they are going to get out of this ambiguous situation.

Finally, there is still the problem of the Arab supervisory body, despite the 4 years of services performed with dedication and without any quid pro quo.

After this gloomy picture, how can it be said that the "authorities" are encouraging the teaching of Arabic?

The basic condition for such encouragement is, of necessity, freeing teaching and teachers of Arabic from the clutches of the politicians' politics and yellow trade unionism, especially at the level of elementary education.

We also suggest that recruitment be made on objective bases and precise criteria, taking competence into account. This will enable Senegal to have teachers of the Arabic language who are capable of fulfilling the important mission which the Muslim people of the country expect of them.

9380

CSO: 4719/904

STUDENTS TO BE REPRESENTED ON VARIOUS UNIVERSITY BODIES

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 21 May 82 p 5

[Excerpt] The Council has examined and adopted seven draft decrees putting an end to the provisional system now in effect at the University of Dakar.

The government authorities decided to put an end to the special system now in effect at the university and to go back to the former regulations that allowed students to be represented in various university bodies.

In March 1971, date of the institution of the special measures, the experiment for "student participation" was negative. The freezing of the university institutions and the suspension of courses therefore justified the implementation of the special measures taken by the government in implementation of Article 4 of Law 67-45 of 13 July 1967 relative to the university.

These measures that ensued from Decree 71-299 of 16 March 1971 resulted in excluding students from university bodies and reducing the composition of the university assembly to facilitate its functioning.

Since that time, therefore, provisional faculty councils met without student representation and a university provisional council replaced the faculty assemblies and the university assembly. In comparison to the latter, the university provisional council does not, moreover, include either a representative of the teaching staff or a representative of African states having scholarship holders at the university.

These councils exercise all the powers of the assemblies they have replaced. The university provisional council has, moreover, complete disciplinary powers over the students. A scaled-down permanent committee is established to aid the dean in preparing plenary sessions of the faculty council. It was therefore decided to put an end to this special system and an ad hoc committee, set up by Decree 4369 of 9 May 1981 of the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, has been given the responsibility to study demands of students of the University of Dakar.

Moreover, it should be noted that Decree 68-960 of 24 July 1968 relative to student associations of higher education does not permit the legal existence of student national unions, i.e., associations bringing together students of

the same country. The need to maintain the corporate bodies was decided on, as well as to bring about legal adjustments permitting the recognition of associations bringing together students of the same country at the university level.

Moreover, the composition of university assemblies, having been judged too top-heavy, has been changed. This is why the number of outside personalities at the university has been dropped from 11 to 8 and that it no longer includes representatives of African states having scholarship holders at the university. Nevertheless, these countries can be called on to participate in the assembly if they want to be associated with the functioning and with the development of the university, in conformity with Article 4, Paragraph 2, of Law 67-45 of 13 July 1967.

Finally, in accordance with the work of the ad hoc committee, it has been deemed necessary to amend or to repeal certain texts in order to permit the normal and regular functioning of the structure set up prior to the provisional status. Students, therefore, will be represented on various university assemblies, councils and committees.

5671

CSO: 4719/1040

FRG DONATION FOR FOOD SECURITY

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 28 May 82 p 6

[Text] FRG Ambassador Udo Hontman has presented the commissioner for food assistance a check for 84 million CFA francs. Mr Hontman stated, "Food security has a special place in Senegalese-German cooperation that has a long tradition." He pointed out that the program financed by the FRG concerns the building of a food stocking infrastructure in the Diourbel, Sine-Saloum and Thies regions.

The German contribution will permit the state to continue its efforts to build up grain stocks through local purchases.

In answer to the FRG ambassador's speech, the commissioner for food assistance indicated that the grain project, whose implementation is in progress thanks to German cooperation, is made up of a production section and a marketing and stocking section. This holds true especially for corn. The commission acted in a more effective manner by assuring the purchase of the entire production supplied by farmers under contract with SODEVA [Agricultural Development and Familiarization Company].

Mr Ndiaye stated, "There remains the study for implementing the food processing section to abide by the procedures in all of its aspects."

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CSO: 4719/1040

SECURITY LEGISLATION LACKS SUFFICIENT INDIVIDUAL PROTECTION

Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans 23 May 82 p 3

[Article by Political Reporter Thinus Prinsloo: "Security Act Can Create Injustices"]

[Text] Attorney Robin Marais, senior consultant and chairman of the General Bar Council of South Africa said that "The risk of serious injustice is inherent to the nature of our security legislation."

RAPPORT asked Attorney Marais to comment on the Draft Legislation on Internal Security following a 12-hour debate conducted in Parliament this week at the committee stage.

The security legislation is being regarded as the most important of the current parliamentary session and it is being strongly opposed by the Progressive Federal Party. This party has tried to revise more than half of the 74 clauses in the legislation.

Attorney Marais said that the Bar Council is of the opinion that the draft legislation does not provide sufficient protection to the individual. Protection can be provided without sacrificing the security of the community and without encumbering to an unacceptable degree the important job of the security police.

Essentially the Draft Legislation on Internal Security consists of those measures drafted by the Rabie Commission. The Bar Council and the Association of Attorney Societies of South Africa provided their comments at the request of the minister of justice.

Attorney Marais stated that to the great disappointment of the Bar Council no hearing was granted to its objections and recommendations, with few exceptions.

The appointment of the Rabie Commission offered a golden opportunity for giving profound consideration to South Africa's security laws. The legal profession had the chance of raising serious objections and misgivings on many aspects of that legislation.

"I wish to emphasize that these misgivings are not limited to the ones entertained by inimical feelings towards the established order. These are shared by great numbers of South Africans of various political convictions whose good faith is above all suspicions."

If the proposals of the legal profession had been accepted then many of the misgivings would have been swept away. With the exception of the Security Police there are few people in South Africa having more experience and knowledge of the security laws than the members of the legal profession.

They are thoroughly aware of the importance of stability and maintenance of law and justice, especially in a country where there are often attempts at attaining political aspirations through violence and sabotage.

It is hardly necessary to remind the legal profession that the state has the duty of guarding the security of the community. However, the individual is also entitled to protection against unrestrained executive authority of the state.

"There is no need to digress over the vulnerability and helplessness of innocent persons being held without a hearing or for questioning and without access to anybody else than those whom the executive authority allows them to see."

Attorney Marais said that the creation of a review board is a positive step in the right direction. But this is greatly defeated by the fact that the minister involved can ignore its recommendations.

The further appeal to the chief justice does not constitute a full and unlimited appeal and can succeed only on limited grounds.

In the legislation there are no rules set down for the manner in which interrogation can take place or for the drafting of a complete record of the interrogation.

There are insufficient provisions for access to a detainee by persons who are not in the service of the state.

The suspicions of Attorney Marais concerning the treatment of detainees cannot be dispelled in this manner. The more isolated a prisoner is kept the smaller is the risk that the police's investigation can be encumbered.

However, a civilized country which attaches great values to justice and the avoidance of misuse of injustice cannot exclude all the risks of this nature.

1964

CSO: 4701/80

SEYCHELLE COUP FAILURE BLAMED ON HOARE'S CHANGE OF PLANS

Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans 23 May 82 p 3

[Article by Eddie Botha: "He Followed His Own Head About the Plan and Failed"]

[Text] Col Mike Hoare deviated from the original plan for toppling the Seychelle Government of Mr Albert Rene. This was the main reason for the failure of the coup d'etat of last year.

This is what Gonzague D'Offay is now saying; he is a former minister in the cabinet of Jimmy Mancham, the deposed president of the Seychelles. Mr D'Offay's name was mentioned earlier, at the time of the closed hearing in Pietmaritzburg, as the man who first approached him about leading the attack on the Seychelles.

Last week Colonel Hoare announced that he wanted to call Mr D'Offay as a defense witness, but on Friday morning he told Judge Neville James that he gave up this idea.

Mr D'Offay who, since the takeover of Mancham's government in 1977, has been living in Durban, in an interview with RAPPORT, lifted the veil of secrecy over the Seychelles resistance movement for the first time; this had to do with the movement's negotiations with Colonel Hoare.

The idea about a coup d'etat came up immediately after Albert Rene overthrew the government of Mr Mancham at the time when D'Offay was with Mancham at the Commonwealth conference in London.

Mr D'Offay said: "In 1978 we, the members of the resistance movement, decided to go into action. This was after Rene jailed certain people who wanted to revive the Democratic Party."

He said that at that time the resistance movement did not have enough money. "A study was undertaken with regard to the feasibility of the plans and the costs involved in such a project."

Mr D'Offay said that he had proposed to the others that Col Mike Hoare be approached. "On a previous occasion we approached several other mercenary soldiers, but it was clear that they were only interested in money."

"I did not know Mike Hoare, but I had read an article about him as well as the book he wrote about his days in the Congo."

Mr D'Offay said that a friend arranged a meeting with Colonel Hoare. "I do not wish to say who this man was and furthermore he did not have anything to do with the coup d'etat."

"Hoare and I met in Durban and during the first meeting we discussed things in general. He said that he would help us on condition that the plan was feasible."

Mr D'Offay said that it was agreed that Colonel Hoare would submit to him an estimate of the cost involved and they met to discuss things several times shortly before the unsuccessful attack on the island.

Mr D'Offay said that after the first meeting with Colonel Hoare the resistance movement began to collect money. "Most of the money came from exiled inhabitants of the Seychelles."

"The movement is a very strong one. Living in Australia are some 7,000 exiles; there are about 5,000 of them in Britain and 90 percent of all these people belong to the resistance movement. In South Africa there are approximately 400 Seychellois and everyone of them is a member of the movement."

The final plans were approved last May. There was enough money and it was agreed that the mercenary soldiers would receive their money after a successful attack. Mr D'Offay said that this proposal was accepted by Colonel Hoare.

According to the original plan the weapons were to be shipped to the Seychelles in crates; "But Mike Hoare deviated from this plan. I am convinced that the mission would have succeeded if Hoare had not changed the plans." So stated Mr D'Offay.

He added that he did not know where the weapons were coming from. "Nor did I know who was responsible for these weapons."

He denied that he had negotiated with government officials or with the armed forces "and I did not have any contacts with anybody in the U.S. spy service (the CIA)."

Mr D'Offay said that the resistance movement had tape recordings with messages from himself, Mancham and Gerard Hoareau, a former immigration official, and these tapes were given to Colonel Hoare. They were to be played for the inhabitants of the Seychelles after the coup d'etat.

In South Africa the members of the movement, which included him, were to hire an airplane to fly to the Seychelles and form the new government.

He even resigned from his job due to the fact that he could not obtain leave of absence. He knew exactly the day on which the coup d'etat was to take place and wanted to keep himself ready to depart.

"Of course we were disappointed when the attack failed, but this is not the end of the world. We are going on with our plans and will not rest until the illegal government of Rene is overthrown." So stated D'Offay.

Nevertheless he is very sorry for the seven persons who are now under arrest in the Seychelles.

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CSO: 4701/80

ACT ON TERRORISM FOUND TO BE INVALID FOR THE FIRST TIME

Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 24 May 82 p 5

[Text] Wednesday's historical pronouncement by a full bench of the Appellate Court, in which for the first time a South African court made a pronouncement on human rights, is theoretically of little importance for South Africa, but on the long run it can have very great "moral, ethical and psychological" values.

This was the reaction of legal experts with regard to the case in which Wilfred Sebonege Marwane was acquitted by 11 appeal judges on the charge of violation of the Act of Terrorism. In 1978 he was sentenced to 15 years in jail by the Supreme Court in Bophuthatswana.

When it became independent, Bophuthatswana also took over South Africa's Act on Terrorism and the South African Court of Appeals is still that country's highest court of appeals.

In a majority pronouncement the court decided that the conviction and the sentence must be put aside, because--among other things--stipulations in the Act on Terrorism are in conflict with stipulations on human rights in Bophuthatswana's constitution, including the fact that an accused person is innocent until proven guilty.

Four of the 11 judges were at odds with that verdict in their minority verdict. They are Chief Judge F. L. H. Rumpff and Judges P. J. Rabie, P. M. Cillie and C. P. Joubert.

Attorney Marinus Wiechers, professor of law at the University of South Africa and legal advisor of Bophuthatswana, said that although the verdict does not make any difference to the status quo in South Africa, because the country's constitution does not have any stipulations regarding human rights (the so-called Bill of Rights), what has really happened is that the Act on Terrorism has been declared invalid.

"Although in the short run this will not have any practical effect here, the significance of this cannot be underestimated in the long run. The moral, ethical and psychological value of such a verdict will not become clear until later on."

According to him no inferences can be attached to the minority verdict.

"It is regrettable that in our courts giving an opinion on human rights in the South African set-up is not being allowed. We have a very competent tribunal and I am convinced that brilliant verdicts will be given."

Prof George Barrie, a law professor at the Rand Afrikaans University, is less enthusiastic and is of the opinion that the verdict cannot in any way be made applicable in South Africa, because human rights here are under the jurisdiction of common law and not stipulations in a law.

Professor Wiechers spoke strongly in favor of stipulations on human rights in the constitution.

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CSO: 4701/83

RIGHT LACKS STRENGTH IN ASSEMBLY

Johannesburg, RAPPORT in Afrikaans 23 May 82 p 9

[Report: "The Right is Not Making It -- but KP (Conservative Party) Will Perhaps Get 28 Seats with Help of the HNP (Herstigte Nasionale Party)."]

[Text] The PFP [Progressive Federal Party] will continue to be the largest opposition party, while the Conservative Party can capture at most 28 seats in the House of Assembly -- unless it works together with other far-right parties. Thus Mr Harry Laurie, experienced election analyst and statistician, predicts the cause of events if an election were to be held now. The picture may change, however.

Mr Laurie made his analysis on the basis of RAPPORT's most recent opinion poll. He says that since Treurnicht's breaking away, the support for the PFP and NRP [New Republic Party] has stayed the same as in last year's election. Support for the NP [National Party] stayed the same in Cape Province, the Free State and Natal. Only in Transvaal was there a shift of about 18 percent in favor of far-right parties such as the KP and HNP.

The KP will specifically have to collaborate with the HNP in order to achieve the above-mentioned success. By splitting votes, or even by stay-away votes which the KP could cause for some seats, the PFP will most probably take two seats away from the NP.

The Same

For purposes of his inquiry, Mr Laurie counted together the support for the three more rightist parties. The Mulder party is already with Dr Treurnicht.

The survey has shown that true support for HNP is small. The large support the HNP got last year at the voting booth clearly came from dissatisfied nationalists rather than from HNP supporters.

"Outside of the Transvaal it does not look as if Dr Treurnicht's leaving has had much effect. The support predominantly on the right is largely the same as it was then.

Correction

"On the basis of the opinion poll, I very much expect the same results as last year for the other parties. The presence or absence of three-way fights could change the outcome in half a dozen or so electoral districts outside of Transvaal. In broad outline, however, the House of Assembly will look very much the same," said Mr Laurie.

In Transvaal, support for the NP among the Afrikaans-speaking is actually the same as for the far-right parties -- a ratio of 274 to 273. When the English-speaking are included, that ratio is 347 against 297.

In 1981 the NP received 396,425 votes in Transvaal and the HNP 119,879, the NKP [Natl Conservative Party] 17,086 and the AET [Action Own Future] 3,325. This is a total of 139,760 for the far-right parties together as against the 396,425 of the NP.

"Percentagewise this means that the NP received 74 percent of the total votes which were brought out for it and the far-right parties together. I tried to make a correction for seats which were not contested by the parties. That could decrease NP support to 72 percent."

For Transvaal the current survey shows that the NP gets 54 percent and the far right parties 46 percent of the voters who do not vote for PFP or NRP.

Shift

"This indicates a shift of 20 percent to the far-right parties," says Mr Laurie. "We can bring that shift down to 18 percent by making provision for uncontested seats . . .

"I worked with a shift of 18.5 percent. Where NP support was less than 61.5 percent of the votes (excluding the PFP- and NRP-votes), I expect those seats to probably go to the KP if voters vote according to the opinion poll.

"Between 61.5 and 65 percent I see it as more likely in favor of the KP. Between 65 and 72 percent any party can win. Between 72 and 75.5 percent it is more likely that the NP will win."

Mr Laurie makes the following classification:

Seats which are strongly KP: Barberton, Brits, Carletonville, Ermelo, Hercules, Losberg, Middelburg, Potgietersrus, Randfontein, Rustenburg and Waterberg. Altogether 11.

Seats which lean toward the KP: Lichtenburg, Schweizer-Reneke, Soutpansberg, Standerton, Stilfontein, Ventersdorp and Witbank. Altogether 7.

Borderline seats: Bethal, Delmas, Gezina, Klerksdorp, Koedoespoort, Krugersdorp, Lydenburg, Meyerton, Nelspruit, Nigel, Overvaal, Pietersburg, Potchefstroom, Pretoria-Wes, Roodeplaat and Wonderboom. Altogether 16.

Seats which lean toward the NP: Alberton, Brakpan, Innesdal, Kemptonpark, Maraisburg, Vereeniging and Westdene. Altogether 7.

"Six seats remain about which we do not have any indication from the 1981 results, but in which the position of the KP must be considered. They are Germiston-Distrik, Jeppe, Langlaagte, Pretoria-Sentraal, Sunnyside and Waterkloof. It is improbable that the KP will win in any of these electoral districts, but it could perhaps have an outside chance in the first four," according to Mr Laurie's calculations.

Possibles

This thus gives the KP 26 seats -- 11 practically certain and half of what he considers to be borderline seats. Perhaps another seat could be added to these from North Cape Province -- Freeburg or Kuruman. Possibly one from the Free State from the electoral districts which are along the Transvaal border, such as Sasolburg or Paris. Possibly also Newcastle in Natal. One of the uncertain ones might be added. That would then give the KP 30 seats in the House of Assembly, but probably it will not be over 28.

These calculations are based on the assumption that the far-right parties will collaborate. If however they do not work together, it will probably prove how insignificant the support for the HNP is -- no more than in the election of 1977.

(As an aside, the new, more severe law with respect to candidates of parties not represented in the House of Assembly will probably count against the NP, for now it will be more difficult to nominate candidates who can split the far-right vote to the advantage of the NP, says Mr Laurie.)

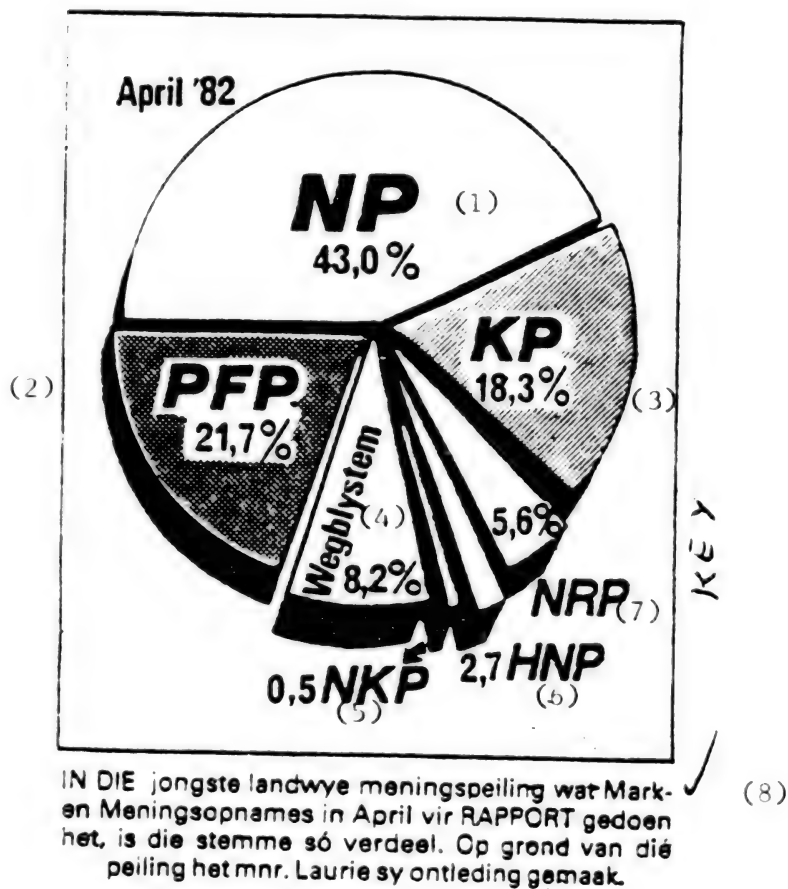
Losses

Support for the KP can cause losses for the NP, even if the KP does not enter candidates in those electoral districts. Noord-Rand, Randburg, Waterkloof and even Benoni and Jeppe could be affected.

"It would not surprise me if the PFP would win two of those seats. Thus it is probable that the PFP will continue to be the official opposition."

In conclusion Mr Laurie remarks: "By the time we hold elections, the picture will undoubtedly look very different. The KP does not have a newspaper. On the other hand, the record of strong middle-of-the-road parties is not too good in South Africa. Just think of the old SAP [South African Party] and VP [Folk's Party?]

But what will count most of all is practical politics. At this stage it is impossible to say how the voters will think by 1986. How many of the proposals of the President's Council will be reality by then, and how will the international scene look then?



Key:

1. NP [National Party]
2. PFP [Progressive Federal Party]
3. KP [Conservative Party]
4. Stay-away votes
5. NKP [National Conservative Party]
6. HNP [Herstigte Nasionale Party]
7. NRP [New Republic Party]
8. [Caption] In the most recent nationwide opinion polls conducted by Market and Opinion Surveys in April for RAPPORT, the votes are divided in this manner. Mr Laurie made his analysis on the basis of that poll.

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CONCEPTION OF LOCAL POWER-SHARING

Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 19 May 82 p 11

[Report: "Power of Regional Governments worries the BEPA [expansion unknown] group: 'Local Governments Should be Independent.'"]

[Text] The President's Council proposes the elimination of the four existing provincial councils and the take-over of their functions by eight regional governments. Heading those should be administrators appointed by the minister from within local governments, who are assisted by four executive committee members representing the three racial groups, likewise appointed by the central government.

The position of the BEELD-BEPA group on this is that the department for local government should merely be a transitional measure in order to get the new system going. If such a department were to be of a permanent nature, it could have an inhibiting effect on the development of independent local governments. Wherever central authorities obtain power over lower authorities, there is the tendency that that authority increases and never decreases.

This also influences the group's position on the appointment of administrators. Especially in view of the fact that there is no other figure of authority between the especially strong powers of the executive state president and the chairmen of local government committees, that group is of the opinion that administrators and executive committee members should preferably be elected. Strictly according to the proposals of the President's Council, the functions of appointed administrators could develop into something like governors. That would seriously affect the power of local authorities.

When the provincial councils are eliminated, the question arises: What will become of all the state officials who then will become superfluous? The view of the discussion group is that those officials will be badly needed elsewhere in order to get the new state machinery going. The ideal situation would be for the eight new regional governments to offer merely supporting services (such as secretarial services) to the local governments.

Because of the possibility that two local authorities could easily have different opinions on the placing of new projects and townships, the discussion group thinks there is a need for a village council consisting of experts. Its function should be to act as arbitrator with respect to conflicting interests.

A council of knowledgeable officials should also be composed in order to assist new local authorities with advice and services while they are struggling to get started.

In addition there could be an assessment council to help in the drawing up of equal assessment standards. This could also be used, if requested by local authorities, as a central point from which taxes are levied. Each local government can set its own rates and that body can take care of collecting the taxes.

The most important components of government at that level, however, are the various local authorities for whites, coloreds and Asians. The BEELD-BEPA group therefore is not very happy about the President's Council's suggestion that, in addition to regional authorities and local governments, metropolitan councils be also established. True government should always be the local authorities. In order to ease their task, the group suggests that metropolitan councils be established to carry out certain services on behalf of the local authorities.

Thus hospital councils, school councils, transport and road councils, water councils and nature preservation councils could be established. These should be created according to the needs of local governments. Thus, for example, the Asian community of Potgietersrus and Pietersburg could decide to jointly create a hospital council to operate a hospital for them. The white local administrations of Johannesburg and Randburg could likewise establish a council to operate their hospitals jointly. Those one-purpose councils must be able to levy taxes to run their own services.

In the United States such a system of one-purpose service bodies is working extremely well. Each one has the power to levy its own taxes, and experience shows that ultimately less taxes are levied there than when one body -- such as our existing provincial councils -- levies taxes in order to operate a variety of services.

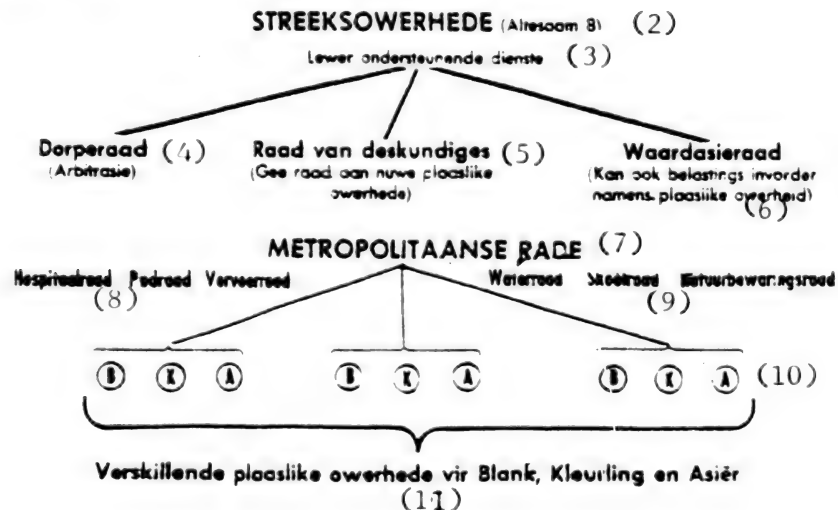
The group is strongly convinced that the switch to such a new system of government will not render any existing state officials superfluous. They will merely be appointed to other bodies.

That is how the BEELD-BEPA group thinks the relationship between local governments and the eight regional governments which have to take the place of provinces should look. The village council should consist of experts and only arbitrate when the interests of local authorities conflict. The Council of Experts must help smaller local governments to get started and the Assessment Council must assist in property assessments and could be the central body which collects taxes on behalf of everyone.

The Metropolitan Councils should be created by local authorities as they see fit in order to oversee certain services such as hospitals or water supply. Their committee members should all be elected.



(1)



Key:

1. BEELD-BEPA Group Analyses the President's Council's Proposals
2. Regional Governments (8 altogether)
3. Furnishes supporting services
4. Village Council (Arbitration)
5. Council of Experts (Advises new local governments)
6. Assessment Council (Can also levy taxes on behalf of local government)
7. Metropolitan Councils
8. Hospital Council - Road Council - Transport Council
9. Water Council - School Council - Nature Preservation Council
10. [B-K-A] Whites-Coloreds-Asians
11. Various local governments for Whites, Coloreds and Asians

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NEW CONSTITUTION: NATIONALIST PARTY MP ENGAGED IN FENCE SITTING

Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans 23 May 82 p 3

[Article by Political Reporter Thinus Prinsloo: "NP-MP Denies Switch over Plans"]

[Text] There is a question mark hanging over the position being assumed by Ferdie van Heerden, the Nationalist Party's MP for De Aar. When this past weekend RAPPORT questioned him about talk among Conservative Party members to the effect that he wants to switch over he denied this.

Answering other questions he said that he can agree with certain viewpoints of the Conservative Party, but not with certain other points. When asked whether he is going to reconsider his position when the government takes a stand on the proposals of the Presidential Council he replied that this depends on what the government's proposals are going to be.

In the Conservative Party it is being said openly that Mr Van Heerden is seriously considering leaving the Nationalist Party. It is interesting that Mr Van Heerden has been frequently seen in the company of members of the Conservative Party especially since the publication of the proposals of the Presidential Council.

However, according to RAPPORT's information, in the course of a meeting in his constituency Mr Van Heerden gave confirmation of his support for P. W. Botha.

This past weekend Mr Van Heerden told RAPPORT that he knows nothing about rumors in Conservative Party circles that he is considering switching over. Asked whether the rumors are wrong he replied: "Yes they are wrong, I am not considering anything at the moment."

When asked if he will consider this in the future he said: "No, I am not considering joining them."

Mr Van Heerden said he "does not know on what basis they can say these things. I have my viewpoints on these matters, but I have not announced that I am going to join them."

Mr Van Heerden said that his viewpoint (which he also passed on to his constituents) is that people should not get excited about the proposals of the Presidential Council at this time, but must wait for the government's proposals. After all those are the things which the people are going to cope with in the future.

Mr Van Heerden said that he naturally supports the prime minister's interpretation of the Nationalist Party's policy.

When asked if he is going to reconsider his position when the government takes a stand with regard to the proposals of the Presidential Council, Mr Van Heerden replied: "It depends mostly on what the proposals are going to be. I do not know; I have no idea of what their proposals are going to be and I am not considering anything at this stage."

When questioned as to how he feels about the Conservative Party's policy he said: "There are certain views of theirs with which I can agree and others with which I cannot agree." However, he did not wish to state the points with which he agrees.

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CSO: 4701/80

CONSTITUTION: PRESIDENTIAL POWER RESTRAINTS EXPLAINED

Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans 23 May 82 p 27

[Text] In the light of the recommendations of the Presidential Council with respect to an executive president, is South Africa on its way to a dictatorship?

According to Dr Denis Worrall, the chairman of the Constitutional Committee, the basic aspect of a dictatorship, namely arbitrary power, will not be there and the future president will be dependent on a reformed parliament for the approval of (a) laws, (b) policy and (c) budget.

According to Dr Worrall it is incorrect to say that the thoughts of a non-parliamentary executive president is a departure of South African traditions in view of the presidential system of the old South African Republic and of the Free State Republic.

Besides the examples provided by the old Boer republics, in the present day Westminster system in Britain, as in South Africa there is centralization of power in one person--the prime minister and in fact today the system is known as "premier government."

Through conventional or constitutional custom the present day state president appoints the leader of the party, which has won the most seats in an election, as prime minister. The latter is the person who controls the appointment and office tenure of cabinet members. As long as the prime minister retains his power basis in the caucus and in Parliament there exists a "premier government."

Point of Power

In my judgment the proposed executive president must be regarded as the replacement of the present prime minister as a point of power in the executive authority--and that in itself is not such a drastic proposal. In our present system it is Parliament which approves laws as well as budgetary measures.

Under the proposed system it will not be any different.

As far as policy is concerned, however, in paragraph 6.9 of its report, the Constitutional Committee shows that during the past 40 years the British

Parliament has declined as a policy making body and that the prime minister now overshadows Parliament and the Cabinet.

The Constitutional Committee proposes that the "establishment of national policy" shall rest with the president and the cabinet, while the prime minister "is charged with the daily administration of the country, the coordination of the ministers and the government's relationship with legislative functions" (paragraph 6.32 of the report).

Therefore, here again, with respect to policymaking the proposed executive president will to a large extent be replacing the present day prime minister.

There has also been public criticism that the proposed new order of things is leaning towards dictatorship, because an extra-parliamentary cabinet is not bound to be responsible to the electorate.

In our present system, however, the cabinet is not responsible to the electorate either (except in a subsequent election), but to the lawmaking entity (Parliament). In connection with this the relationship between the executive authority and Parliament will be of great interest in the proposed order of things.

Unjustified

The criticism that the Presidential Council's proposal of a system which is strongly executive-oriented will prejudice the importance of the legislative function, in the structure under consideration, is unjustified. It is true that the Constitutional Committee cannot make detailed recommendations on the legislative functions (paragraph 7.1 of the report) until a later report, however, the committee has made it clear that the legislative authority's role will actually increase in importance (paragraphs 6.33, 7.3 and 7.15); therefore it considered it necessary to state and explain some of the most important deductions regarding the role of the legislative body in a new constitution (paragraph 7.1).

With regard to the relationship between the planned legislative (parliament) and the executive authority there was also strong criticism against the president's power to dissolve parliament. However, there is no reason to suspect that such power will be wider in any respect than that of the present state president.

The Constitutional Committee recommends that the functions of the president, as the head of the executive authority, must be described clearly in the constitution (paragraph 6.31). But there is a relevant question and that is: How can a state president's 7 year tenure of office be reconciled with the present rule that parliamentary members be elected at least every 5 years?

An executive president, whose term in office has not expired at the time of an election, might not have the confidence of a subsequent electoral college (the future parliament) with the consequent tension between executive and legislative authorities.

In the present constitutional debate the prospect is being held out that a president shall be answerable to charges and be subjectable to removal from office ("impeachment") as a punishment.

Something to this effect is already in the constitution: Removal on the basis of improper behavior or the incapability of the state president to conduct effectively his official duty. This sort of provision should also be contained in the new constitution.

If the above elements are not considered sufficient enough to put a stop to dictatorial measures on the part of a future president, these can be expanded to read simply: "with a list of reasons"--the present cause for the removal from office of an administrator.

Guarantees

Notwithstanding the drastic measure of removing someone from this office, there can also be other guarantees in the constitution for exercising control over the president. For example the French Constitution has provisions for the dissolution of the National Assembly by the president, but only in consultation with the prime minister and the president of the House of Legislative Authority to be followed by a mandatory election shortly thereafter.

The French Parliament also has the constitutional right to meet twice a year. Moreover, in France it is not merely a convention, but a stipulation in the constitution, that the government must resign in the event that the National Assembly approves a motion of censure in the government or rejects a general policy statement on the part of the government. It will be possible to have such a stipulation, which will also affect the office of the president in certain circumstances, in South Africa as well.

In summary: One finds it ironical that the Presidential Council's proposals, simply involving greater separation of powers between the legislative and the executive authorities, are now being criticized as leading to a dictatorship.

Montesquieu's doctrine of separation of powers was exactly aimed at combatting dictatorial measures. The committee's considered opinion was that a non-parliamentary executive authority will create a government structure in which it will be easier to abolish dominance and to ensure a peaceful and continuous reform (paragraph 6.22).

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CSO: 1701-82

CONSTITUTION: PROCESS OF IRONING OUT DIFFERENCES SUGGESTED

Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans 23 May 82 p 26

[Article by Willem de Klerk: "A Plan of Action on Constitutional Proposals Necessary"]

[Text] The public will have to bear further stretched-out discussions on the Presidential Council's proposals, because these will bring about maturity and direction. However, I predict that a saturation point will be reached, because eventually it will be difficult to find new things to say.

We are now moving into the phase of a mechanical fountain--the same water (arguments) being taken up again, injected into the air by means of a spout and then falling into the pool to find its way upwards again, tomorrow and the days to follow.

It is now already clear that there are problems with and differences about the incompleteness and vagueness of the report, the office and powers of the executive state president, the competencies of the local authorities, the functions and composition of the district councils, the interim measures, the position of the black people in the republic...and thus we can go on with a series of other things which have appeared in the press during the past 2 weeks.

Moreover it is also clear that a significant middle group of people among the whites, coloreds and Indians have accepted the basic philosophy of the Presidential Council's recommendations as a practical point of departure. Of course there was the expected opposition of the Progressive Federal Party and of the Cape Province's Reconstituted Nationalist Party as well as opposition from black radicals.

This basic philosophy is a "consociation-democracy" between the three groups with "segmental autonomy" at all levels of government. Put in simpler terms this means the structuring and entrenchment of self-determination and co-determination from the local level to the national level of government.

Another philosophical point of departure for a new constitution is the separation of legislative authority (Parliament) and the executive authority (Cabinet, prime minister and president). There are sharp differences over this.

What is the next step now? In other words: what procedures must now be pursued?

With regard to this I want to repeat my views in greater detail.

The most important thing now is that the government issue a tentative declaration of intentions...say by August. Such a declaration must be a preliminary one, because the government has not yet tested out the Nationalist Party on this matter and therefore such a statement would still have to be qualified.

This declaration of intention should only be about such things as the recognition of the principle of a single-voice/joint-voice of the three groups involved in the entire government house keeping, the elimination of discrimination, the acceptance of the transfer of power to one's own local authorities, the description of functions of the district authorities and of other connective institutions, the appointment of an executive state president having sufficient controls; additional sources of income for local authorities, the orderly progress in the application of the system with an indication of a time schedule and finally the necessity of immediate interim measures for providing representation to the three groups in government institutions.

A paragraph must be added to the declaration of intentions and it must deal with the situation of the black people--the consultation structures being planned, the fact that a confederation framework will be worked out simultaneously with the proposals for a new constitution, also the fact that black people within the republic will be getting a voice at all levels of government with respect to their own interests.

This preliminary declaration of intention should bring about some sort of stability, it should allow the constitutional discussion to keep its momentum and it should serve as an agenda for the work ahead for the Presidential Council and for the other institutions involved.

We cannot go round and around without such a document of intentions and the government cannot afford to let that mechanical fountain go on spouting without initiative and guidance.

Following this preliminary statement of intention there are two stages in the further process and these must follow through simultaneously.

The first of these is that the government must carry through its consultation program. This involves such things as consultations in the caucus and in the Nationalist Party congresses with respect to the principles set forth in its preliminary statement of intentions. Along with that there should also be consultations with selected and representative groups from the colored and Indian communities.

Other institutions such as organized business associations, cultural organizations and municipal associations should also discuss these matters

thoroughly within their own circles, but do so on hand of the principles set forth in the preliminary declaration of intentions.

The second stage is that the Presidential Council shall reconsider matters and formulate final proposals having before it that declaration and using also as a basis the reactions to its own reports.

In connection with this it would be fruitful to single out a number of experts for the purpose of formulating detailed points of criticism and alternative proposals to be sent back to the Presidential Council for consideration (and if necessary pay these people).

Both the government and the Presidential Council could complete this process by say: February 1983.

By making arrangements for an advanced Nationalist Party congress decisions could be made during the parliamentary session of 1983.

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CSO: 4701/82

COLOREDS, INDIANS REACTING CAUTIOUSLY TO NEW CONSTITUTION

Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans 23 May 82 p 26

[Article by Gus Adams: "Why Then So Cautious?"]

[Text] Why are the coloreds so cautious about the new constitutional proposals of the Presidential Council? Why don't they embrace them with warmth and enthusiasm? Is it actually worth the effort for the government to proceed with the new plans if the people in whose interest this is supposed to be are receiving this so coldly and there are even indications in certain circles that these proposals could be rejected? These are questions being heard today and they deserve replies.

Let us first of all make one thing very clear: These new proposals along with the Presidential Council et al, are not primarily intended to give the coloreds and the Indians a place in the sun. The primary motive, as we see it, is to ensure a future for the whites, it is primarily a matter of white survival. How did Mr P. W. Botha put it recently at Springbok?--If civilization survives then South Africa will survive. With that he told his audience at Springbok that they, the whites, the Afrikaaners, the Nationalists, would also survive.

But in order to accomplish this there has to be a defensible system; one which is defensible abroad and within the country. Therefore there has to be a better order of things for the coloreds and the Indians.

Now, there is nothing wrong with the will to survive. That is the first and strongest law of nature. It is a case for rejoicing to see that leading white politicians are now beginning to realize that one party needs the other if all want to survive.

However, the coloreds' coolness over this matter is easily understandable. If you are used to being treated badly and as an inferior person and then one day you meet the same person and find him ever so friendly and even invites you into his living room, whereas before that you never as much stepped beyond the kitchen, how would you react? It is very possible that you would be very careful, wary and on your toes. Why is he so friendly all of a sudden? Is he up to something new now?

And so this is how so many of us feel. Even the most outspoken individuals who praise the plan are going to qualify their praise and they are not going to climb aboard boots and all.

There is another reason: They say that if a person has been without food for a long time and then you put food before him, he is going to eat little by little. He cannot eat fast otherwise he will get sick. It is nearly as though his body has become accustomed to being without food. It no longer feels hunger pains. Hunger has become the norm for it, so why turn to eating now?

Of course these arguments cannot be carried on too far.

The coloreds have had to manage without a political voice for a long time now. To be sure in the northern provinces here in Transvaal and in the Free State we have never had this. The Cape Province have not had it for some time and the bitterness of these people is felt all the more, because they feel that they have been robbed of something. Now something is being offered to them. There are some who say: We have done without that for such a long time that we can just wait a while longer. Others say: We must wait until we get a much clearer picture on this matter. Still others say: We will have to wait until all the population groups are included in this. However, the general consensus is not to be too hasty and possibly end up being disappointed as a result.

The whites will have to be patient with this attitude; they must not interpret this as a rejection; rather they must ask themselves if they would have not reacted in the same manner.

Actually I am surprised to see how little negativism there actually is. Under the circumstances I would have expected more. Those who have gone out of their way to show rejection have only made a poor show. The Labor Party, whose dilemmas I pointed out several weeks ago, is still wrestling with its problems, but indications are that the Laborites are thinking and that means a great deal. May they, and also others in their position, keep on thinking for themselves and not allow others to do their thinking for them or to prescribe actions to them.

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CSO: 4701/82

BECKETT CALLS FOR WHITES, BLACKS TO PULL TOGETHER

Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 19 May 82 p 11

["Frontline" Column by Denis Beckett: "'Think-Again' for Black and White."]

[Text] It is rather nice to know that there are certain things on which I as a liberal and the readers of BEELD as Nationalists undoubtedly agree.

For example, I am entirely convinced that we in South Africa have a big problem with respect to the many black people who simply attribute all their problems, without exception, to apartheid, even problems which have nothing to do with apartheid. Readers of BEELD will readily agree that the evils of apartheid are too easily overemphasized (although not everyone who feels that way will agree that the evident solution would be to do away with apartheid as quickly as possible).

Likewise BEELD readers will not find it difficult, in general, to accept the idea that it would be very good to throw some real thorough challenges at those blacks who think that if they stay around long enough socialism will get here sooner or later and make them all rich. Or to challenge those blacks who see racism in everything and use this primarily as an excuse for everything.

I am of the opinion that it is very necessary to challenge those people. I am dead sure of it that the great majority of BEELD readers agree with me 100 percent on that point.

The problem is that when these types of challenges are posed, they are usually rejected without any serious consideration. They are rejected because they come from a suspect area.

If a black person were to pose such a big challenge (which hasn't happened very often), the usual reaction is a shrug of the shoulders and a negative commentary, meaning that the spokesman is surely a traitor or a puppet. And if a white person were to do this . . . well, he's actually white, isn't he? Then why pay attention to him? Isn't he merely a privileged member of the ruling class which tries to demoralize the blacks in an attempt to hold on to its own privileges?

Thus, fundamental criticism of its merits is seldom considered or even given real attention. It is summarily rejected because it comes "from the outside." And to me that is a great tragedy.

In my view it would be constructive if black people in general were to be confronted with heretic and unwanted thoughts which could encourage a re-evaluation in their thinking, a re-thinking as it were, instead of blind service to the all-embracing term Black is Beautiful -- precisely something which is so often distorted into Black is Perfect.

I don't necessarily expect Blacks to agree with that sort of criticism. But it would be really good if this criticism were judged for its true merits and not summarily rejected.

And BEELD readers, I am sure, will agree with that.

As the Englishman would say, so far so good. But let's take this one step further. If challenges and provocative thoughts are good for blacks, then why not for whites? And if it is wise to expect blacks to judge new ideas on their content and not on their origin, then shouldn't Afrikaners do likewise? Or is the problem perhaps that Afrikaner thoughts are so infallible that they may not be questioned? And this while the thoughts of all the others need constant sharpening?

In my experience the usual reaction of Afrikaner Nationalists is exactly the same as the black reaction -- exactly in reverse gear. If there is a challenge from a source other than the Afrikaner one, it is summarily rejected on that ground alone, while if that source is indeed Afrikaner and the challenge is fundamental enough, people always find an easy way out by branding the challenger a renegade or traitor.

I am mentioning all this because just tonight someone went on and on again about the fact that I can't be expected to know anything about anything because I am afflicted with the disease of having an "English background." This happens all the time, and if there is anything which to me is like a red cloth to a bull, this is precisely it. Perhaps it is true that I don't know anything about anything but, please, not because of that reason! I am as much an Afrikaner as any Afrikaner or black and it is very arrogant and futile for people in each of the various camps to accept that they alone have the right to show interest in the country which all of us must share.

Last week I wrote about that one liberal dream I have, namely that the day will break when all of us can applaud the local man (regardless of his color) when he fights an opponent from abroad. This week I am submitting another dream: that all of us will listen to the thoughts and ideas which are circulating and that we use our intelligence to decide whether we agree with them or not.

Then we will indeed have a degree of hope to find the type of future all of us will be able to share.

8700

030: 4701/85

SOUTH AFRICA

BUSHMEN LAUDED AS FIGHTERS

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 1 Jun 82 p 13

[Report by Gideon Joubert: "Bushmen Part of Feared Fighting Team"]

[Excerpts] The Bushman is like an antelope. He is intelligent, and his power of observation is unbelievable. He does not get lost. At night he follows the stars.

Last week a group of newspapermen visited Omega, the Bushmen base of the armed forces in West Caprivi. We liked the Bushmen right away. They are modest, withdrawn, friendly and loyal. For many centuries they were used as slaves by black people. In Angola their wives and daughters were made prostitutes.

At Omega it is not difficult to find recruits for the army. The news has spread quickly that it is a safe haven. Almost daily new Bushman families arrive.

Omega is located in an area of undescribably beautiful scenery. The Bushmen who come to Omega are primitive. They hate SWAPO and Marxism, for they know it. These days they receive the same pay as white soldiers. Their standard of living has increased unbelievably.

The Bushmen's capacity to track, their ability to survive in the veld, their knowledge of the veld and their sense of direction in the bush -- coupled with the white power of leadership -- make them a feared fighting team.

Major Lieb Liebenberg, deputy commander of Omega, says that the sense perceptions of the Bushmen in the veld are unbelievable. If a patrol has a Bushman along, it is not necessary to post guards. The Bushman also sleeps, but he is already awake and sounding the alarm when the enemy is still far away.

Religious

The Bushmen's second language is Afrikaans. They are members of the Dutch Reformed Church.

The Bushmen are a playful tribe. They make a game out of everything.

Once or twice a year there is a veld school. The veterans take youngsters to the veld for 2 or 3 weeks, and then they are made Bushmen. They have to live off the

veld, hunt with bow and arrow, sleep in the cold night, make fire with sticks, and learn all the miraculous little veld tricks only known by Bushmen. Thus one prevents that precious knowledge from becoming lost.

In West Caprivi there is peace. SWAPO has never yet shown its face there. Why should it? There are only trees and Bushmen and the latter are not susceptible to indoctrination. Some of the Bushmen have been fighters for 10 or 15 years already. Earlier on they fought side by side with the Portuguese in Angola. Two of Omega's soldiers have received the Honoris Crux-order. One of them was a Bushman.

8700

CSO: 4701/81

REV JORDAAN, CHURCH COUNCIL SPEAK OUT ON CENSORSHIP

Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 24 May 82 p 3

[Text] The church council of the Dutch Reformed congregation of Stellenbosch Central has accepted Rev Pierre Jordaan's assurance that he will not misuse his ministry for party politic aims and that it shares his concern about censorship. This is what Reverend Jordaan said yesterday before his public worship service.

Reverend Jordaan was recently in the news for his criticism of the government's application of censorship and a letter concerning this matter which he wrote to Mr Hendrik Coetzer, the Nationalist Party MP for East London-North. Reverend Jordaan recently opened a Dr Andries Treurnicht meeting at Stellenbosch with Scripture reading and prayer.

Before the public service of last night, which was led by Dr J. S. Kellerman, Reverend Jordaan read from a duplicated announcement such as can be obtained every Sunday at the doors of churches.

In it the church council states that at a meeting of 19 May it decided to share Reverend Jordaan's concern over the aspects of the Act on the Control of Publications. The church council confirmed a previous decision in this respect.

Indignant

"The church council notes with appreciation Reverend Jordaan's statement regretting the offense which stemmed from some of his views and accepts his assurance that he will not misuse his ministry for party politics purposes."

Reverend Jordaan said that he hopes the announcement will bring this matter to an end.

Reportedly some students were very indignant over the words he used in his letter to Mr Coetzer. In it he said that he would use his influence as a student teacher "to bring to the attention of our youth this decadent attitude of a party which in the past has almost been holy in my view."

Although Reverend Jordaan later stated that he regards his letter to Mr Coetzer as a personal one, a copy of it was also sent to Minister Hennie Smit [Posts and Telecommunications], the MP for Stellenbosch.

SOUTH AFRICA

CHURCH'S APPROACH TO APARTHEID: PATIENCE AND CLARITY NEEDED

Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 24 May 82 p 4

[Text] In a lead article DIE LIGDRAER (Light Bearer), the official newspaper of the Dutch Reformed Missionary Church states that the merits of Dr Allan Boesak's proposal that the justification of "apartheid," on the part of certain churches must be tested against the reformed confession, rests in the fact that this is putting the debate on this matter at a theological level.

This commentary follows a study document which Dr Boesak, a minister of the Missionary Church, has drafted for the World Federation of Reformed Churches and in which he asks that a status confessiones be proclaimed so that each member church shall test its views on apartheid against the confession's written creeds.

DIE LIGDRAER states that in such an eventuality no member church will abstain from assuming a stand, because no church can be neutral with respect to a matter which prejudices its confession.

The Dutch Reformed Church had begun to justify its view on the religious and political policy of separate development on a theological basis back in the 1970's. Therefore, criticism of the Dutch Reformed Church's viewpoint cannot take place without theological justification. It is here that one finds merits in Dr Boesak's proposal.

Crux

"Let the World Federation take a good look at the question of whether and to what extent the policy of apartheid, with its religious and political practices, is in conflict with the Scriptures and the Reformed writings on creed." By pressing such a theological crux of the matter a purer religious character will be imparted to this action."

"Any pronouncement in terms of the status confessiones must, however, be based on a clear analysis on the situation. The question, therefore, is what is meant by apartheid."

"The word is being used in an especially loose and regular manner and can mean anything from an absolutely normal separateness of interest groups, out of

their own choice, to the well-known political concept of a legislated separation of different ethnic groups through the will and power of one of these groups."

Patience

The apartheid in question must, therefore, be defined clearly. Not until then can it be determined how the Scriptures and confessions will judge it.

The newspaper states that the proclamation of a status confessiones can be a preparation to disciplined thinking, but religious discipline is characterized by a continuous concern about the sinner in a spirit of extreme patience until it becomes clear that "through absolute hardening he has separated himself, as it were."

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CSO: 4701/83

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

SOUTH AFRICA WANTS TIME TO RESOLVE PROBLEMS--All South Africa is asking of its trade partners abroad is that they give it time and the opportunity to solve its domestic problems in a peaceful manner, Mr Harry Schwarz, member of parliament for Yeoville, said yesterday at a dinner meeting of the South African/German Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg. Mr Schwarz discussed the new political and economic dimensions in the Republic and said it would be easy for him to undo the new proposals of the President's Council. However, he stands behind Prime Minister P.W. Botha and the leader of his party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, by making an appeal to politicians not to make hasty decisions which cannot be withdrawn later on. According to Mr Schwarz the tide of politics in South Africa has now completely turned. The Afrikaner no longer fights for his own independence, but for peaceful co-existence of all peoples in South Africa. The break in the National Party was inevitable, according to the course of history. The proposals of the President's Council and those of the Buthelezi Commission cover a lot of joint territory, even if they come from two different poles. Those who are searching for a solution to the country's problems should start to look here for answers which will satisfy all groups, he said. The report of the President's Council should serve as the foundation for discussions between the various groups. The differences of the past must now be forgotten and the similarities of the future should be the guideline, he said. [Text] [Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 19 May 82 p 11] 8700

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